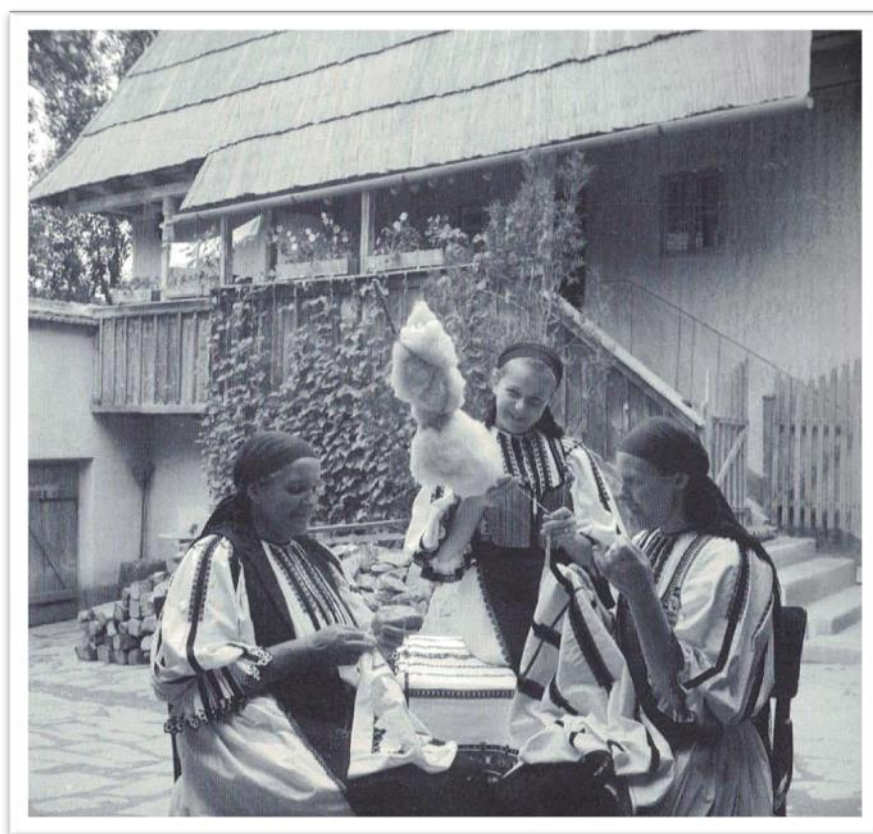


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TOME 55
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SOMMAIRE / CONTENTS

SYNTHÈSES DE L'ANTHROPOLOGIE ROUMAINE / SYNTHESSES OF ROMANIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

ELEONORA LUCA, Les Atlas anthropologiques des provinces roumaines (1999-2012) et l'Atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie, en deux volumes (2011, 2012)	5
GHEORGHIȚĂ GEANĂ, The history of Romanians as apokatastasis	23

ÉTUDES ET ARTICLES / ARTICLES AND STUDIES

OZANA-MARIA PETRARU, VASILICA-MONICA GROZA, LUMINIȚA BEJENARU, Dental macrowear as marker of diet: considerations on the skeletal sample from the 17 th century necropolis of Iași (Iași County, Romania)	45
VASILICA-MONICA GROZA, OZANA-MARIA PETRARU, LUMINIȚA BEJENARU, Medieval necropolis of Aroneanu Monastery (Iași County, Romania): skeletons of children and adolescents	55
ELEONORA LUCA, CORNELIU VULPE, MIRCEA ȘT. CIUHUȚA, MONICA PETRESCU, SUZANA TURCU, LĂCRĂMIOARA PETRE, CRISTINA STAN, NICOLAE LEASEVICI, Études anthropologique concernant l'harmonie des certaines proportions corporelles chez la population masculine de Roumaine	69

ANN. ROUM. ANTHROPOL., 55, P. 1–200, BUCHAREST, 2018

MONICA PETRESCU, ELEONORA LUCA, NICOLAE LEASEVICI, LĂCRĂMIOARA PETRE, MIRCEA ȘT. CIUHUȚA, Études anthropologique concernant certaines caractéristiques corporelles d'un groupe de femmes de l'industrie de Bucarest	85
ABDELLAH AHOUCHE, MOHAMED CHERKAOUI, Le système symbolique des populations et sa contribution à la préservation des sources d'eau dans le Haut-Atlas occidental (exemple : source du village Imin-Tala)	95
KOUADIO KOUAKOU JEROME, KOUASSI KOUAKOU FIRMIN, VONAN MIESSAN CAMILLE, KOUASSI KOUAKOU SIMEON, BEUGRE JEAN BERTIN, Migration humaine et destruction des sites archéologiques: cas de la région de Bonoua en Côte D'Ivoire	113
DAVID LAGUNAS, The Spanish Gitanos of Mexico City: rhythmicity, mimesis and domestication of the Payos	125
SEBASTIAN ȘTEFĂNUCĂ, Thoughts regarding a possible Balkan anthropology	141

RAPPORT DE RECHERCHE / RESEARCH REPORT

DANA POPESCU-SPINENI, CRISTIANA GLAVCE, Eugène Pittard on the Romanians in the historical context of their 1918 unification	163
COSMIN RADU, Antifascist resistance at the Romania – Serbia border during WWII: Two historiographies	173

INTERVIEW

From ethnoregionalisms to transnationalism: contemporary areas of anthropological research, (An interview with Professor CHRISTIAN GIORDANO) (Interviewer: Marin Constantin)	183
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COMPTES RENDUS / REVIEWS

Corneliu Vulpe, Gheorghică Geană, <i>Cercetări antropologice în Subcarpații de Curbură</i> [Recherches anthropologique dans les Sous-Carpathes de Courbure], Editura Academiei Române, București, 2017, 130 pp. (Compte rendu par Mircea Ciuhuța)	189
Cornelia Belcin Pleșca, Laura Toader, Cătălin Alexa, <i>Familia țărănească în România. Un secol de fotografie / The Peasants' Family in Romania. A Century of Photography</i> , Printed by Monitorul Oficial R.A., Bucharest, 2017, 416 pp. (Review by Marin Constantin)	191

- Silvia Ciubotaru, *Obiceiurile agrare din Moldova raportate la spațiul național* [Les coutumes agraires de Moldavie par rapport à l'espace national roumain], Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, 2017, 681 pp. (Compte rendu par Marin Constantin) 194
- Sergiu Bălan, Lucia Ovidia Vreja, *Homo Oeconomicus și competitorii săi. O perspectivă trans-disciplinară asupra antropologiei economice* [*Homo Oeconomicus and His Competitors. A Trans-disciplinary Perspective on Economic Anthropology*], Editura ASE: București, (2017) (Review by Cosmin Radu) 196
- Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei* [Annuaire du Musée Ethnographique de Moldavie], Iași, Maison d'Édition du Palais de Culture, Vol. XVII, 2017 (Compte-rendu par Dragoș Grigorescu) 198

Image de la première couverture : « Grand-mère, mère et fille tissant blouses en la même broderie dans la Mărginimea Sibiului, Roumanie. Les arts populaires sont transmis de génération en génération » (Cornelia Belcin Pleșca, Laura Toader, Cătălin Alexa, *Familia țărănească în România. Un secol de fotografie / The Peasants' Family in Romania. A Century of Photography*, Monitorul Oficial R.A., Bucarest, 2017, p. 245)

Main cover image: “Grandmother, mother, and daughter wearing blouses with the same embroidery in Mărginimea Sibiului, Romania. The arts and crafts were passed from generation to generation” (Cornelia Belcin Pleșca, Laura Toader, Cătălin Alexa, *Familia țărănească în România. Un secol de fotografie / The Peasants' Family in Romania. A Century of Photography*, Monitorul Oficial R.A., Bucharest, 2017, p. 245)

LES ATLAS ANTHROPOLOGIQUES DES PROVINCES
ROUMAINE (1999-2012) ET L'ATLAS ANTHROPOLOGIQUE
DE LA ROUMANIE, EN DEUX VOLUMES (2011, 2012)*

ELEONORA LUCA**

INTRODUCTION

Au début du XX^e siècle, en circonstances troubles et graves pour l'Europe, des anthropologues étrangers renommés viennent en Roumanie et font des études typologiques sur les Roumains. Le Professeur suisse Eugène Pittard a publié en 1920 « La Roumanie » où il soutient l'unité et la parenté des Roumains des trois grandes provinces historiques. Avec A. Donici, E. Pittard étudie la répartition géographique de quelques caractères anthropométriques, en considérant que les populations brunes, hautes et brachycéphales représentent le type originaire des Roumains. À son tour, l'autrichien V. Lebzelter a examiné les types anthropologiques des Roumains, en remarquant les éléments méditerranéens dans la structure des hommes d'Olténie, Muntenie et même en Moldavie. À l'occasion des enquêtes sociologiques du professeur D. Gusti, le Professeur Francisc Rainer (le fondateur de l'école anthropologique bucarestoise et de l'Institut d'Anthropologie) allait enquêter les populations de trois villages roumains (Nereju-Vrancea [1927], Fundul Moldovei, en Bucovine [1928] et Drăguș-Brașov [1928]). Avant de la deuxième guerre mondiale, P. Râmneanu a décrit le type anthropologique de la population roumaine de Banat, I.G. Botez étudie la stature et l'indice céphalique en Moldavie de Nord et Bucovine, I. Făcăoaru, V. Papilian et C. Velluda vont étudier les Roumains de Transylvanie et Olga Necrasov étudie les Roumains de Nord-est de Moldavie, Bucovine et de Pays des Dornes. On peut dire que les débuts des recherches scientifiques sur les caractères anthropologiques des Roumains coïncident avec les événements historiques de l'Union des toutes les provinces roumaines en 1918 dans un seul pays, la Roumanie.

* Maison d'Édition de l'Académie Roumaine, Bucarest, 2012.

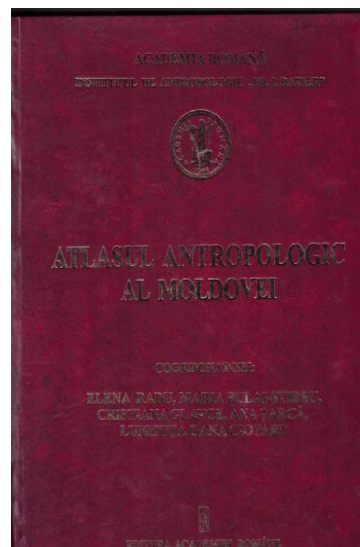
** Institut d'Anthropologie « Francisc Rainer » (Académie Roumaine, Bucarest).

Un thème majeur de l'anthropologie roumaine fut aussi la caractérisation de la structure anthropologique des Roumains et des autres ethnies de la Roumanie du territoire politique et administratif après la deuxième guerre mondiale. Les grands personnalités scientifiques qui ont conduit et protégé l'Institut d'Anthropologie de Bucarest (aujourd'hui, l'Institut d'Anthropologie « Francisc I. Rainer »), l'académicien Ștefan Milcu et les professeurs Olga Necrasov et Victor Săhleanu, ont soutenu, projeté et organisé l'activité de recherche anthropologique vers l'accomplissement d'une tâche professionnelle et morale, à savoir la réalisation d'un atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie. Et, parce que l'anthropologie roumaine s'est développée d'abord prédominant comme anthropologie physique, sous l'influence du paradigme disciplinaire européen, les recherches se sont orientées spécialement vers les traits biologiques des populations. Entre 1950-1989, les anthropologues de Bucarest et Jassy ont effectué des amples enquêtes dans les villages du pays, sur les habitants autochtones de trois (ou plus de) générations d'âge adulte, des recherches valorisées en beaucoup d'articles, thèses de doctorat, monographies sous la coordination de Ștefan Milcu et Horia Dumitrescu (Clopotiva, 1958, Ținutul Pădurenilor – Bătrâna, 1961, Nucșoara et Câmpu-lui-Neag, 1966), *l'Atlas Anthropologique de l'Olténie*¹ (1968, sous les mêmes coordonnateurs) et le chapitre d'anthropologie de *l'Atlas Complexe des Portes de Fer* (1972, coordonnateur Horia Dumitrescu et collaborateurs Cantemir Rîșcuția et Corneliu Vulpe). En 1974, la professeure Olga Necrasov avec Suzana Grințescu-Pop, Th. Enăchescu, Maria Cristescu etc. ont élaboré le projet d'un Atlas Antropologique de la Roumanie concernant la caractérisation bio-anthropologique des populations roumaines et des autres ethnies en étroite liaison avec les facteurs écologiques (naturels et anthropiques). Le projet comprenait comme chapitres principaux : la structure anthropologique (valeurs moyennes et variabilité des caractères métriques, typologie anthropologique, dimorphisme sexuel, micro-évolution), caractères morphologiques et pigmentation, types constitutionnels, caractères biochimiques, physiologiques, croissance et développement des enfants etc. Sous la coordination du Professeur Victor Săhleanu, le collectif d'anthropologie physique a préparé jusqu'à 1980 une première version d'Atlas qui a resté sous forme de manuscrit. Les remaniements supportés par l'Institut d'Anthropologie entre 1944-1989 (institut – centre – laboratoire) ont mis en retard le désir des anthropologues roumains.

Après 1990, les anthropologues ont ordonné et systématisé un matériel très riche et varié en couvrant des données concernant toutes les provinces historiques du pays. Ainsi on a commencé les préparations pour la publication les résultats des recherches de « type atlas ». Tous les Atlas ont apparus sous l'égide de la Maison d'Édition de l'Académie Roumaine de Bucarest, entre 1999 et 2012, de l'ordre suivante:

¹ L'Olténie, ancienne province historique de la Roumanie, ayant un Atlas dès 1968 (Ștefan Milcu et H. Dumitrescu, coordonnateurs) a été enrichie avec des données anthropologiques nouvelles en 1982 (Maria Vlădescu, M. Adam et M.Șt. Udrescu, *Studii și cercetări de antropologie*, Vol. 19, 1982, 40-46).

1. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Munténie*, 1999 (Maria Vlădescu et Corneliu Vulpe, auteurs); 182 pp. + 12 planches;
2. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Maramureș*, 2004 (Maria Știrbu, Ana Țarcă, Georgeta Miu, Maria Istrate, auteurs); 156 pp. + 12 planches;
3. L' *Atlas Anthropologique du Banat du Sud*, 2004 (Elena Radu, Horst Schmidt et Cristiana Glavce, auteurs); 315 pp. + 7 planches;
4. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Transylvanie*, I, 2005 (Maria Vlădescu et Corneliu Vulpe, auteurs); 294 pp. + 17 planches;
5. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Transylvanie*, II, 2006 (Cristiana Glavce et Elena Radu, auteurs); 184 pp.;
6. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Moldavie*, 2008 (Elena Radu, Maria Bulai-Știrbu, Ana Țarcă, Cristiana Glavce, Luminița Ciotaru, coordonateurs); 892 pp.;
7. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Dobroudja*, 2010 (Elena Radu, coordonateur); 534 pp. + 12 planches couleur;
8. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Delta du Danube*, 2011 (Maria Știrbu, Ana Țarcă, Georgeta Miu, coordonateurs); 499 pp. + 19 planches couleur;
9. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, I, 2011 (Elena Radu, Cristiana Glavce et Maria Bulai-Știrbu, coordonateurs); 257 pp. + 49 planches couleur (des cartes et diagrammes);
10. L' *Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, II, 2012 (Corneliu Vulpe, coordonateur); 183 pp. + 42 planches.



Excepté les Atlas de la Maramureș et du Delta du Danube (qui ont également des références scientifiques), les autres ont une préface signée par le Professeur Constantin Bălăceanu-Stolnici, membre d'honneur de l'Académie Roumaine et directeur honorifique de l'Institut d'Anthropologie « Francisc I. Rainer » de l'Académie Roumaine.

Comme un hommage, un témoignage de respect et de reconnaissance, sur les premières pages des Atlas sont inscrites les personnalités scientifiques qui ont initié et ont conduit le projet de « L'Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie »: Ștefan Milcu, Olga Necrasov, Horia Dumitrescu, Victor Săhleanu, Suzana Grințescu-Pop, Theodor Enăchescu, Maria Cristescu.

Les Atlas ont été conçus en tant qu'une synthèse de référence en ce qui concerne la structure anthropologique de la population roumaine et aussi les caractéristiques des différentes ethnies du territoire de Roumanie.

Dans l'« Introduction » ou dans les chapitres où sont présentées différentes communautés, les auteurs se réfèrent aussi aux particularités historiques, géographiques et écologiques selon la province étudiée et aussi pour le pays entier.

Les chapitres principaux des tous les Atlas des provinces comprennent des aspects concernant la méthodologie, la structure bioanthropologique des populations basée sur les caractères métriques, la pigmentation, les dermatoglyphes, l'hémotypologie. On trouve, en plus, des chapitres concernant les populations anciennes du territoire de la Roumanie (les *Atlas de la Munténie, de la Transylvanie, de la Roumanie*, vol. II), la microévolution ou « secular trend » (les *Atlas de la Transylvanie*, vol. I et l'*Atlas de la Roumanie*, vol. I, II), des certains caractères physiométriques et des aspects démographiques (les *Atlas de Maramureș et du Delta du Danube*).

ÉLÉMENTS DE MÉTHODOLOGIE DES ATLAS

Quelques aspects concernant la méthodologie utilisée sont décrits dans tous les Atlas. Ceux-ci se réfèrent au volume des sujets, à la collection et le sort des données, aux échelles anthropologiques pour établir la variabilité des caractères métriques et la typologie anthropologique, aux méthodes d'analyse des dermatoglyphes, des systèmes sanguins, des divers caractères physiologiques et aux méthodes statistico-mathématiques appliquées. En général, on a utilisé une fiche anthropologique complexe, de « type atlas », codifiée, ayant inscrites des informations concernant quelques données personnelles du sujet, les phénotypes des caractères anthropométriques et les groupes sanguins. Pour les dermatoglyphes, la fiche spéciale est composée par des images des dermatoglyphes digitales, palmaires et plantaires. La caractérisation anthropométrique de la conformation et de la typologie se base sur un volume en totalisant 42060 des individus adultes (âgés, en général, entre 20-60 ans), dont 20 953 hommes et 21207 femmes, d'environ 300 villages et 9 centres urbains. Pour l'hémotypologie, sur le pays, ont été analysées 131066 personnes, hommes et femmes et pour la caractérisation des dermatoglyphes le volume est de 98727 personnes. L'étude sur les populations anciennes a compris 1508 sujets. En ce qui concerne les ethnies, les recherches ont été effectuées dans les villages où la population ethnique respective est majoritaire: Allemands en Banat et Transylvanie (8 villages), Hongrois et Selliers (en roumain, *Secui*, en anglais, *Szeklers*, en hongrois, *Székely*) en Transylvanie (3 + 1 villages), Bulgares en Munténie (3 villages), Tchèques en Banat (3 villages), Turques et Tatares en Dobroudja (1+1 villages), Ukrainiens (841) et Russes « Lipovens » (362) en Delta du Danube (9 villages avec les Roumains), Roms (une série synthétique, en Transylvanie). Dans les *Atlas de Maramureș et du Delta du Danube* on mentionne la technique et les dispositifs utilisés pour la collection des certaines données physiologiques (tension artérielle, capacité vitale et force dynamométrique). Une méthode auxiliaire importante a été la photographie anthropologique.

La méthodologie du travail et les méthodes d'analyse des données se caractérisent par un assemblage entre « traditionnel » et « moderne ». Ainsi, les données diverses collectées en terrain ont été rapportées aux échelles « universelles » de variation ou aux différents étalons selon leurs types, on a calculé une série de paramètres statistiques (la valeur moyenne, la déviation standard, l'amplitude de variation, la fréquence relative etc.), on a appliqué des tests statistiques de signification pour la comparaison des séries de recherche et la certitude de la différence entre ceux-ci, etc. Une méthode qui appartient à l'Institut roumain d'Anthropologie et appliquée sur les résultats de tous les Atlas, est la morphogramme taxonomique élaborée en 1965 par Suzana Grințescu-Pop, Th. Enăchescu et Vl. Georgescu, un instrument graphique de comparaison directe, interrelationnelle et d'ensemble des phénotypes moyens ou individuels des dimensions et des indices céphalo-faciaux selon les échelles « universelles ». Autres méthodes utilisées pour classifier les individus ou les populations selon leurs caractéristiques, pour déceler les différences ou la parenté, sont celles de l'analyse multivariée, « la distance génétique Mahalanobis généralisée » et la méthode « cluster » de taxonomie numérique.

DE LA STRUCTURE ANTHROPOLOGIQUE DES ROUMAINS

En faisant une synthèse des données des Atlas des provinces et du pays entier on résulte une caractérisation de la structure anthropologique des Roumains et des autres ethnies qui habitent sur le territoire de la Roumanie exprimée par les valeurs moyennes des dimensions et des indices de conformation et par leur variabilité phénotypique populationnelle selon les échelles de variation (*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, I, pp. 47-72, 165-238, et II, pp. 92-93). Ainsi, au niveau céphalique les hommes roumains se caractérisent, en moyenne, par brachycéphalie (84,73 ; entre 83,31 – Delta et 85,84 – Maramureș), hypsicéphalie moyenne (68,08 ; 67,06 – Dobroudja et 68,3 – Transylvanie), métriocéphalie (80,39 ; 78,43 – Maramureș et 80,93 – Delta), et eurymétopie (72,33 ; 70,63 – Transylvanie et 73,73 – Dobroudja). En ce qui concerne la variabilité phénotypique individuelle selon les provinces on remarque une fréquence maximale de la hyperbrachycéphalie en Maramureș (43,62%), d'une hypsicéphalie marquée en Olténie (32,65%), métriocéphalie maximale en Delta du Danube (63,14%) et une acrocéphalie modérée en Olténie (35,47%). Au niveau facial, les hommes roumains se caractérisent, en moyenne, par un front rapporté à la face d'une largeur moyenne (78,52 ; 77,72 – Transylvanie et 80,39 en Dobroudja), une mandibule moyenne (77,27 ; 75,93 – Banat et 79,26 – Delta), la face mésoprosope à la limite supérieure (87,74 ; entre 85,92 – mésoprosopie en Olténie et 89,9 – leptoprosopie en Munténie) et un nez moyen en largeur (62,88 ; entre 60,35 – moyen au début, en Munténie et 67,3 – large en

Dobroudja). En ce qui concerne la variabilité selon les provinces on consigne une eurymétopie maximale en Dobroudja (92,09%), une fréquence maximale de fronts moyens en Olténie (60,39%) et de fronts larges en Dobroudja (48,9%), un poids maximal de mandibules larges en Delta du Danube (35,5%) et étroites en Moldavie (41,85%), des fréquences maximales de la leptoprosopie (36,5%) et de la hyperleptoprosopie (20,2%) en Munténie, les plus nez étroits en Munténie (26,6%) et de nez larges (27,72%) et très larges (32,48%) en Dobroudja. Les femmes roumaines se caractérisent, en moyenne, par une brachycéphalie (84,97 ; amplitude : 84,12 – Delta et 86,07 – Maramureș), hypsicéphalie moyenne (68,54 ; amplitude : 65,93 – Dobroudja et 68,84 – Transylvanie), métriocéphalie (80,64 ; entre tapéinocéphalie en Dobroudja – 78,37 et métriocéphalie – 80,72 en Moldavie) et eurymétopie (73,18 ; amplitude : 71,16 – Transylvanie et 73,79 – Delta du Danube où la fréquence de l'eurymétopie est de 92,29%). Au niveau facial, les femmes ont un front moyen (80,68) et une mandibule moyenne (76,45), une face, en moyenne, leptoprosope au début (85,44 ; entre 84,09 en Maramureș et 88,13 en Munténie où on trouve, comme chez les hommes, les plus grandes fréquences de leptoprosopie – 37,5% et de hyperleptoprosopie – 29,9%) et le nez, en moyenne, d'une largeur moyenne (61,77). Pour les caractères métriques des segments céphalique et facial, les auteurs des Atlas ont utilisé les morphogrammes taxinomiques de Suzana Grințescu-Pop et Th. Enăchescu et ont établi d'après le tracé des phénotypes dimensionnels ou des indices un sort de classification « typologique » basée sur la relation positionnelle qui est mise en évidence graphiquement (*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, I, pp. 129-153). Ainsi, selon les valeurs moyennes des dimensions et des conformations céphaliques et faciales et leur position dans les catégories des échelles de variation ont résulté des morphogrammes pour la série masculine différenciées en six types « de relations » pour les dimensions (quatre pour les dimensions céphaliques et deux pour celles faciales) et deux types pour les conformations céphalo-faciales. Pour la série féminine on obtient sept variantes pour les dimensions (4+3) et une seule variante pour les conformations. Les morphogrammes résultées sont caractéristiques aux différentes provinces et permettent aussi l'illustration du dimorphisme sexuel. Nous présentons au-dessous les types des morphogrammes taxinomiques obtenues pour la population de la Roumanie (pp. 132-133) :

- morphogrammes des dimensions céphaliques et faciales :

Hommes : g-op<eu-eu>t-v<ft-ft go-go>zy-zy<n-gn al-al<n-sn

Femmes : g-op<eu-eu>t-v<ft-ft go-go>zy-zy<n-gn al-al<n-sn

- morphogrammes des conformations céphaliques et faciales :

Hommes : IC<IVL>IVT IFT>IFZ>IGZ IF>IN

Femmes : IC<IVL>IVT IFT>IFZ>IGZ IF>IN

La caractérisation corporelle décrite en Atlas est basée, en principal, sur quelques dimensions somatiques et leurs proportions en stature (*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, I, pp. 50-51, 76-77 ; II : 92-93, 106-108). Les hommes roumains ont (en moyenne) une stature au dessus de la moyenne (1682,2 mm), la variation phénotypique populationnelle étant orientée vers les statures grandes (33,78%). Une fréquence plus grande des statures grandes caractérise Dobroudja (51,68%), Delta du Danube (44,72%) et Moldavie (44,27%). L'amplitude des valeurs moyennes est comprise entre 1672,8 mm en Maramureș et 1698,43 mm en Dobroudja. La proportion de la taille assise en stature, l'indice cormique, est, en moyenne, métriocorme (52,75) avec la variation phénotypique vers macrocormie (36,36%) et une amplitude des valeurs moyennes comprise entre 52,21 en Banat et 53,16 en Munténie. Un poids grand de macrocormie on trouve en Dobroudja (45,42%) et en Delta (44,99%). La largeur relative des épaules est moyenne (22,71), des épaules larges on trouve davantage en Banat (47,98%), Delta (45,92%), Moldavie (41,61%) et Dobroudja (40,94%). Le bassin rapporté à la stature est aussi moyen en largeur (17,1). Des bassins larges avec une grande fréquence se trouvent en Dobroudja (46,98%). L'indice qui apprécie la forme du tronc, un rapport entre le diamètre du bassin et le diamètre des épaules, l'indice acromio-iliaque, important aussi pour le dimorphisme sexuel, exprime, en moyenne, une forme intermédiaire à la limite supérieure de la catégorie (74,58), les moyennes selon les provinces ayant une amplitude entre la forme intermédiaire en Delta du Danube (73,98) et la forme rectangulaire en Dobroudja (78,16). La forme rectangulaire est la forme féminine et la population masculine de Dobroudja enregistre des fréquences impressionnantes des formes rectangulaires (38,93%) et des formes rectangulaires accentuées (32,89%). L'accomplissement corporel des hommes, illustré par l'indice Rohrer (poids/stature³), exprime, en moyenne, eutrophie (1,40) et les valeurs moyennes varient entre 1,39 en Transylvanie et 1,50 en Dobroudja. Les femmes ont aussi, en moyenne, une stature au-dessus de la moyenne (1562,95 mm) et l'amplitude des valeurs moyennes selon les provinces est comprise entre 1549,6 mm, catégorie moyenne, en Maramureș et 1574,72 mm, au-dessus de la moyenne, en Banat. Des statures grandes se trouvent fréquemment en Dobroudja (39,19%), Delta du Danube (37,31%), Banat (37,19%), Moldavie (35,02%). Les femmes se caractérisent, en moyenne, aussi par métriocormie (53,61) et des fréquences grandes de macrocormie se trouvent en Transylvanie (52,45%), Dobroudja (52,29%), Moldavie (42,06%). Les épaules sont, en moyenne, de largeur moyenne (22,71) mais le bassin est large, en moyenne (18,78), une caractéristique féminine. Des bassins très larges on trouve assez fréquemment en Dobroudja (28,26%) et en Moldavie (26,57%). En conséquence, l'indice acromio-iliaque exprime, en moyenne, une forme rectangulaire accentuée (82,34), l'amplitude des moyennes selon les provinces étant comprise entre 80,03 en Munténie et 84,49 en Dobroudja. Les fréquences les plus grandes des troncs de forme rectangulaire accentuée sont consignées en Dobroudja (78,35%) et en

Moldavie (73,29%). L'indice Rohrer, de plénitude corporelle, indique une moyenne au-dessus de l'eutrophie (1,57), en variant par les valeurs moyennes entre eutrophie, en Banat (1,53) et hypereutrophie en Delta du Danube (1,77).

Le chapitre 4, un chapitre spécial de l'*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, volume I (pp. 101-128), est consacré à la corpulence des Roumains illustrée par l'indice recommandé de l'OMS (WHO), l'indice de masse corporelle, IMC ou BMI (Body Mass Index), indice connu en anthropologie, par sa formule, poids/stature², comme l'indice Quetelet, Bardeen-Gould-Kaup etc. L'indice de masse corporelle vient de remplacer l'indice traditionnel de l'accomplissement corporel, Rohrer, qui apprécie le développement corporel en 3D (!). Ainsi, dans les *Atlas de Transylvanie*, Vol. II, de *Moldavie*, de *Dobroudja* et de *Delta du Danube* il y a aussi un chapitre spécial concernant la corpulence des Roumains (inexactement et de façon insistant dénommé « la corporalité », un mot qui manque dans les dictionnaires et, autrement dit, le corps n'est pas caractérisé seulement par le poids et la stature 2D!). La valeur moyenne de l'IMC indique pour les hommes roumains une normalité pondérale (24,06) et pour les femmes (25,01) le début de l'excès pondéral (à la limite entre normalité et excès pondéral, conformément à l'échelle OMS, pas de Quetelet !). Les données concernant les valeurs moyennes et la variabilité phénotypique de cet indice nutritionnel dans la population roumaine, en général, ne mettent pas clairement en évidence un dimorphisme sexuel, mais les tendances vers les catégories de variation de surpoids et d'obésité I et II, 35,54% chez les hommes et 35,87% chez les femmes, indiquent une proportion alarmante : « un sur trois roumains est au-dessus de la normalité, est surchargé pondéral ! ». Les valeurs moyennes de l'IMC chez les hommes varient selon les quatre provinces visées entre normalité en Moldavie (24,11) et un début d'excès pondéral en Dobroudja (25,49) où la variabilité des phénotypes individuels enregistre des fréquences importantes dans les catégories de surpoids (27,16%) et d'obésité I (10,73%). En ce qui concerne la corpulence moyenne des femmes selon les provinces cherchées, l'amplitude est comprise entre une corpulence normale en Transylvanie (24,39) et un excès pondéral net en Delta du Danube (26,38). Entre ces limites se situent les autres deux provinces avec une corpulence moyenne au-dessus de la normalité : Moldavie (25,61) et Dobroudja (26,38). La variabilité phénotypique a un tracé plus accentué vers l'excès pondéral et obésité en Dobroudja (38,11% et 20,46%) et en Delta du Danube (33,55% et 31,13%). L'IMC enregistre une variabilité différente selon le sexe, l'âge, les facteurs mésologiques et socio-culturels. La valeur de l'indice, la corpulence, croît avec l'âge, chez les hommes spécialement après 54 ans, chez les femmes après 40 ans, mais on constate une diminution après 60 ans. Les hommes citadins ont un excès pondéral plus grand que les villageois (33,46% : 25,36%) tandis que chez les femmes rurales le surpoids (32,75%) et l'obésité I (10,59%) sont plus fréquents par rapport aux femmes du milieu urbain (25,94% et 6,64%). Les auteurs ont apprécié aussi les modifications diachroniques de l'IMC par une comparaison entre les données de 1980 et les celles de 2004 sur

des hommes et femmes qui travaillent en divers secteurs de l'industrie roumaine de Bucarest et de quelques centres urbains du pays et on constate l'augmentation de la prévalence du surpoids et de l'obésité. Il faut observer que les auteurs dénomment, dans l'étude, la croissance de la corpulence comme un phénomène de « microévolution », ce qui est vrai dans une mesure, mais les exigences de l'étude de la microévolution en anthropologie ne sont pas accomplies entièrement : les populations urbaines (spécialement celle de la capitale) sont génétiquement hétérogènes, il n'existe pas la parenté d'un village, et ici parlons d'une influence très forte des facteurs mésologiques etc. En conclusions, l'augmentation du potentiel pathologique est réelle mais ne parlons pas du point de vue anthropologique, d'une microévolution !

SUR LA PIGMENTATION DE L'IRIS, LA STRUCTURE DES DERMATOGLYPHES ET LES ASPECTS HÉMATOLOGIQUES

La pigmentation des cheveux et de l'iris des populations est aussi une étude importante qui enrichit la caractérisation anthropologique des Roumains. Les phénotypes pigmentaires sont appréciés selon deux échelles : ceux des cheveux par l'échelle Fischer-Saller et de l'iris par l'échelle Martin-Schultz, des échelles qui présentent une palette élargie de couleurs et de nuances. Pour mieux déterminer les phénotypes pigmentaires on utilise une classification en quatre catégories pigmentaires (ou même les notes, lettres ou chiffres, des échelles) : claire, intermédiaire – claire, intermédiaire – foncé et foncé. Nos auteurs utilisent pour caractériser l'iris et les cheveux des Roumains seulement trois catégories : claire, intermédiaire et foncé (*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, I, pp. 244-247). Les données se réfèrent aux 18762 hommes et 18540 femmes pour les cheveux et aux 17534 hommes et 16751 femmes pour la pigmentation de l'iris. En ce qui concerne la population roumaine, il n'y a pas un dimorphisme sexuel évident. Les deux sexes se caractérisent prédominant par des cheveux foncés (73,25% : 71,14%), moins intermédiaires (22,55% : 24,6%) et très peu clairs (4,2% : 4,26%). On observe que les femmes ont un poids faiblement plus grand des cheveux intermédiaires et les hommes des cheveux faiblement plus foncés. Les fréquences phénotypiques maximales pour les cheveux foncés de deux sexes se trouvent en Olténie (92,2% : 82,8%), pour cheveux intermédiaires en Dobroudja (55,83% : 64,92%) et pour les cheveux clairs, blonds aussi en Dobroudja pour les hommes (8,87%) et en Banat pour les femmes (9,4%). La variabilité de la pigmentation de l'iris sur le pays se ressemble chez les deux sexes : on prédomine l'iris intermédiaire (54,36% : 54,27%) suit par l'iris foncé (25,93 : 27,55%) et l'iris claire, avec un poids important (19,71-18,18%). On observe que les femmes ont des fréquences faiblement plus grandes d'iris foncé et plus petites d'iris clair. Pour les hommes les fréquences maximales d'iris foncé sont en Banat (33,6%), d'iris intermédiaire en

Olténie (65,1%) et d'iris claire en Dobroudja (32,35%). Les femmes enregistrent des fréquences maximales d'iris foncé en Olténie (33,63%), d'iris intermédiaire en Dobroudja (64,85%) et d'iris clair en Munténie (28,1%). Le choix ou la restriction aux trois catégories de variation pigmentaire conduit les auteurs à une conclusion douteuse : la combinaison pigmentaire cheveux - iris « chez la population de la Roumanie est dysharmonique ». Concernant la pigmentation des cheveux, on trouve souvent une confusion entre les couleurs châtain, brun, marron, noir etc. (châtain = cheveux brun clair; brun = marron foncé etc.). En ce qui concerne la pigmentation de l'iris, sans avoir une différenciation entre intermédiaire claire et intermédiaire foncée, nous trouvons que les Roumains ont prédominamment une pigmentation intermédiaire, c'est-à-dire un mélange de vert, gris, cendré, brun clair, même jaune etc. (!!!) Et, finalement, même l'existence d'une dysharmonie pigmentaire peut s'harmoniser aussi avec la beauté d'une figure humaine !

En ce qui concerne la structure des dermatoglyphes, celle-ci est présentée dans les Atlas des provinces et dans une synthèse dans l'*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, II (pp. 109-123). Les données finales, en totalisant 98727 sujets de deux sexes, se basent sur une investigation étendue entre 1958-1999, les experts principaux étant C. Țurui, H. Dumitrescu, Marta Ciovârname-Dumitrescu, Ana Țarcă et C. Vulpe. La distribution des principaux dessins digitaux chez la population roumaine est la suivante : 6,9% arcs, 63,3% boucles et 29,7% verticilles. Selon les provinces étudiées, les fréquences maximales sont : 7,7 arcs en Moldavie, 64,1% boucles en Dobroudja et 31,7% verticilles en Banat. Les fréquences minimales sont : 6,1% arcs, 61,4% boucles en Banat et 28,6% verticilles en Dobroudja. La série roumaine synthétique de Delta du Danube (l'*Atlas du Delta* a été publié trop tard pour entrer en calcul pour les aspects traités dans les deux Atlas de synthèse sur le pays) se caractérise par un tableau des dessins digitaux où les dessins de la population du Delta se situent aux extrêmes : les plus arcs – 11,33% et verticilles – 35,66% et les moins boucles – 53% (*Atlas de Delta du Danube*, pp. 417). La distribution populationnelle des dermatoglyphes s'inscrit dans les limites de la variabilité caractéristique au continent européen.

Un autre chapitre important est le chapitre concernant les aspects hématologiques qui se réfèrent aux systèmes sanguins OAB, MN et Rh (l'*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, II, pp. 124-142). Les phénotypes des groupes OAB ont une variabilité en population roumaine qui situe la Roumanie au voisinage de certaines populations de l'Europe Centrale et de Sud-Est, caractérisées, en général, par la même séquence de la fréquence des phénotypes : $A > O > B > AB$. Ainsi, les phénotypes ont, en moyenne, la distribution suivante dans la population roumaine et les limites selon les provinces (où nous avons ajouté les données de Delta du Danube, pp.409) : groupe O : 33,39% (29,15% en Maramureș – 36,61% en Olténie), groupe A : 42,74% (37,08% en Dobroudja – 48,36% en Maramureș), groupe B : 16,63% (15,42% en Banat – 18,86 en Dobroudja et 19,25% en Delta), groupe AB : 7,24% (5,67% en Delta et 6,04% en Olténie – 8,11% en Moldavie).

Selon les départements du pays, le groupe 0 est minimal, de 29,13%, en Covasna et maximal, de 38,51%, en Tulcea ; le groupe A est minimal, de 33,33%, en Tulcea et maximal, de 48,91, en Covasna ; le groupe B est minimal, de 13,17%, en Covasna et maximal, de 18,7% en Constanța (ici se situe le département Tulcea, voir le tableau 26, pp. 129, avec 19,54% !) ; le groupe AB est minimal, de 4,59%, Dolj et maximal, de 8,99% en Bihor. La connaissance du facteur Rh (D) des individus est très importante parce que l'antigène D est le responsable principal des réactions hémolytiques après les transfusions et la cause de l'erythroblastose fœtale. Au niveau mondial, la fréquence des phénotypes est environ de 84% Rh+ et 16% Rh-. En Roumanie, les fréquences sont : 86,78% Rh+ et 13,22% Rh-, tandis qu'en Europe Rh+ est d'environ 85%. Le facteur Rh+ a une fréquence majeure en Banat (88,52%) et la plus petite en Dobroudja (85,35%). La fréquence du Rh- est majeure en Dobroudja (14,65%) et le minimum en Banat (11,48%). Comparativement, est intéressante la distribution du facteur Rh en Delta du Danube, où les auteurs font une seule synthèse pour les Roumains, les Russes et les Ukrainiens : Rh+ a une fréquence de 79,14% et Rh- de 20,85% ! (pp. 410). Le système MN n'a pas une importance spéciale dans les transfusions mais, avant « l'époque ADN » il figurait parmi les caractères recherchés dans les expertises de la recherche en filiation. Les phénotypes sont M, MN et N. Les fréquences moyennes sur le pays sont : 30,64% M, 50,50% MN et 18,86% N. Les fréquences maximales se trouvent pour M en Maramureș (37,57%), pour MN en Banat (57,18%) et pour N en Moldavie (19,77%).

DONNÉES DE LA PALÉOANTHROPOLOGIE EN ROUMANIE

Un chapitre spécial est celui-là qui se réfère aux recherches sur les populations anciennes du territoire de la Roumanie. Ainsi, le domaine de la paléanthropologie ou de l'anthropologie historique (*Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie*, II, pp. 144-159) vient d'accomplir la valeur biologique et historique des Atlas. Les traces les plus anciennes de l'homme fossile localisées sur le territoire de notre pays ont été découvertes pour la première fois dans la grotte d'Ohaba Ponor (département Hunedoara), au sud-ouest de la Transylvanie et ont été attribuées à *Homo Neanderthalensis*. Une calotte crânienne trouvée à Cioclovina (le même département), datée au paléolithique supérieur a été attribuée à *Homo sapiens fossilis*. Les fragments des os humains découverts dans la Grotte aux Os de Monts de Banat sont considérés vieux d'environ 34-36000 années radiocarbone. Sont présentées successivement les périodes historiques et les découverts des traces humaines fossiles jusqu'à nos jours avec la description de la structure anthropologique. En suivant la structure et les traits de la calotte crânienne, en principal, leurs modifications en temps, les auteurs soulignent une évolution de types prépondérants méditerranéens mésocéphales, même dolicocephales, de taille petite ou moyenne aux époques anciennes vers les types prépondérants dinaroides ou alpinoides, avec une structure crânienne brachycéphale et la stature au-dessus de la moyenne ou haute,

un phénomène dénommé en anthropologie « brachycéphalisation » caractéristique, en général, aux populations actuelles. Certainement, la structure anthropologique des « populations autochtones » a été influencée au cours du temps par beaucoup « d'éléments allogènes » mais, selon les auteurs, le phénomène a été repris et a continué avec aussi une diversité typologique. En vivant à la mode et sous l'envoûtement des hypothèses, il aurait été plus correctement de dénommer le chapitre « Modifications diachroniques »... Il est plus facile de respecter les exigences de la recherche de la microévolution sur les générations d'une même population actuelle! De toute manière, les auteurs du chapitre ont été bien intentionnés, en présentant les découverts humains anciens du territoire de la Roumanie.

LA STRUCTURE ANTHROPOLOGIQUE DES AUTRES ETHNIES DE ROUMANIE

Dans les Atlas des provinces (*Munténie*, pp. 104-121, *Banat*, pp. 263-304, *Transylvanie*, pp. 147-176, *Dobroudja*, pp. 461-512, *Delta du Danube*, pp. 287-358) et, aussi, dans l'*Atlas de la Roumanie*, I (pp. 163-239) il y a des chapitres consacrés à la description de la structure anthropologique des autres ethnies (minorités nationales) qui habitent en Roumanie. Les Bulgares de Munténie sont décrits avec une calotte brachycéphalique, haute modérée, un front large rapporté à la tête et moyen à la face, une face leptoprosope et la largeur mandibulaire moyenne. Les statures sont prédominantes moyennes et au dessus de la moyenne. La pigmentation est, en général, foncée et pour l'iris aussi intermédiaire. Les Allemands, venus au début du XIX siècle en Banat et en Transylvanie sont un peu différents uns des autres. Les Allemands de Banat ont la calotte brachy- et hyperbrachycéphale, la face méso- et leptoprosope, des fronts moyens et larges, le nez étroit et très étroit, la stature grande et au-dessus de la moyenne, le tronc moyen et haut (macrocormie), les épaules larges et le bassin étroit, eutrophie et sous-eutrophie, l'iris prédominant claire et les cheveux plus foncés. Les auteurs les caractérisent par les types nordique et alpin (ici mon avis est : la stature, la macrocormie, la face et la brachy- et hyperbrachycéphalie caractérise le dinarique, pas l'alpin !). Les Allemands de Transylvanie se caractérisent par brachy- et mésocéphalie, hypsi- et orthocéphalie, leptoprosopie, mésoleptorhinie, la pigmentation est foncée pour les cheveux et intermédiaire vers foncée pour l'iris. Les fréquences phénotypiques du système OAB sont les suivantes : 0 – 36,43%, A – 46,15%, B – 12,14%, AB – 5,26%. Les Tchèques de Banat ont une calotte brachy- et hyperbrachycéphalique, hypsi- vers orthocéphalique, eurométopique, une face leptoprosopique faiblement vers mesoprosopique, leptorhinie, une stature grande et moyenne, le tronc moyen vers haut, des épaules larges et moyennes, eutrophie et au-dessous d'eutrophie. La pigmentation des cheveux est intermédiaire et foncée (51 et 47%) et la celle de l'iris est claire et intermédiaire. Les poids des phénotypes du système sont : 0 – 30,5%, A – 41,69%, B – 17,6%, AB – 10,03%. Les Hongrois de Transylvanie se caractérisent par une calotte fortement hyperbrachycéphalique, hypsicéphalie modérée, un front

large par rapport à la tête et moyen en largeur faciale, une face leptoprosope et mésoprosope, le nez leptorhin, la stature au dessus de la moyenne, le tronc métriocorme vers macrocorme, un indice Rohrer en illustrant au-dessous d'eutrophie et eutrophie. La pigmentation est foncée pour les cheveux et intermédiaire vers foncée pour l'iris. Les Roms de Transylvanie ont, en moyenne, le plus petit indice céphalique par rapport aux Roumains et les autres ethnies (80,61) illustrant mésocéphalie. Ils se caractérisent aussi par une leptoprosopie accentuée, méso- vers leptorhinie, le front large/tête et moyen/face, une stature moyenne vers au-dessous de la moyenne, tronc moyen vers haut (macrocormie) et l'accomplissement corporel eutrophique. En appliquant l'analyse multivariée, les auteurs ont obtenu une division en deux groupes selon les caractères métriques des populations de Transylvanie: un groupe – Roumains, Hongrois et Bulgares – ressemblants par brachycéphalie et statures au-dessus de la moyenne ou haute et un autre groupe, allemands et roms, ressemblants par mésocéphalie mais différents par la stature, grande aux Allemands et moyenne – petite aux Roms. Les Turques et les Tatares se sont établis sur le territoire de Roumanie depuis 800 ans. Les Turques de Dobroudja se caractérisent par brachycéphalie, hypsicéphalie modérée et moyenne, eurymétopie, fronts et mandibules de largeur moyenne, la face leptoprosope et hyperleptoprosope, un nez mésorhin, la stature au-dessus de la moyenne vers grande. La corpulence des hommes turques, appréciée par l'IMC, est, en moyenne, 23,77, valeur de normalité pondérale est les phénotypes varient en population entre normalité (68,85%) et surpoids et obésité I (27,87%) tandis que les femmes ont la valeur moyenne de l'IMC d'excès pondéral (26,5) et les phénotypes se distribuent clairement prédominant dans les catégories de surpoids (34,47%) et obésité (27,87%). Les Tatares ont aussi une calotte haute et brachycéphale et hyperbrachycéphale, eurymétopie, mais des fronts et mandibules étroits rapporté à une face euryprosope et mésoprosope, le nez étroit et moyen. La stature est grande (1713,51mm en moyenne). L'IMC des hommes est, en moyenne, 25,37, d'excès pondéral au début de la catégorie, en variant phénotypiquement entre normalité (50,65%) et les catégories d'excès (27,27%) et obésité (19,48%), tandis que les femmes se caractérisent clairement, en moyenne, par surpoids (68,74), ayant seulement 30,78% phénotypes de normalité pondérale et des fréquences accablantes d'excès (33,84%) et d'obésité (33,84%). La pigmentation des cheveux et d'iris des Turques et des Tatares est grêvé, génétiquement, par leur histoire (aussi la structure anthropologique, mais moins visiblement). En plus, les auteurs ont utilisé des échelles selon une appréciation subjective des couleurs et des différentes nuances (Les catégories d'iris sont, selon les auteurs : bleu, vert, brun = « căprui » et noir ... manque le gris ... et les catégories des cheveux : blond, châtain clair, châtain foncé, brun et rougeâtre... mais châtain est brun clair, café est brun presque noir, brun est marron foncé ... etc. C'est la confusion qui se produit quand ne s'utilisent pas les échelles correspondantes). Ainsi, en Roumanie, les Turques et Tatares ont des fréquences appréciables d'iris clair et intermédiaire-clair (49,18% : 45,45%), moins les femmes, mais aussi grandes (31,15% : 36,9%). En ce

qui concerne la pigmentation des cheveux, les deux populations ont prédominant des cheveux intermédiaire-foncés et foncés davantage les tatars (75,41% : 83,04% les hommes et 65,57% : 86,38% les femmes). Dans les villages de Delta du Danube vivent ensemble des Roumains, Russes (« Lipoveni ») et Ukrainiens. Tous se ressemblent, en moyenne, par brachy- et hyperbrachycéphalie, mésoprosopie, des statures au-dessus de la moyenne, métiocormie, eutrophie, une pigmentation foncée des cheveux (70%), intermédiaire (52%) et claire (36%). Les Russes ont la plus grande stature (1704,76mm) et le plus petite IMC (24,39), la fréquence presque égale des phénotypes des groupes 0 et A (36,14% : 36,95%), et concernant les dermatoglyphes, la fréquence la plus réduite d'arcs (9,31%) et de verticilles (28,62%). Comparativement, les Ukrainiens ont une mésatiscellie à la limite supérieure de la catégorie (des membres inférieurs plus longs), un accomplissement corporel faiblement plus grand, l'IMC distribué phénotypiquement plus fréquemment dans les catégories d'excès pondéral (42% : 36%). Les Ukrainiens ont la plus grande fréquence des phénotypes de groupe B (20,22%).

TYPLOGIE BIO-ANTHROPOLOGIQUE EN ROUMANIE

Et, finalement, il faut présenter quelques références concernant la « caractérisation typologique » des certaines populations incluses dans les Atlas de Maramureș (pp.80-81) et de Delta du Danube (pp. 257-258, 355-358). Dans les deux Atlas les auteurs



utilisent la diagnose raciale d'Eickstedt, en établissant un score ou un pointage pour chaque « type anthropologique » selon les phénotypes dimensionnels, de conformation, morphophysionomiques et pigmentaires incriminés. Les hommes de Maramureș se caractérisent par brachy- et hyperbrachycéphalie (>80%), hypsicéphalie (90%), un indice facial mésoprosopie (euriprosopie 24,89%, mésoprosopie 31,91% et leptoprosopie 27,44%), un indice nasal mésorhin au début et la variation phénotypique vers lepto- et hyperleptorhinie mais aussi avec camærhinie 16,25% et hypercamærhinie 9,32%), une stature au-dessus de la moyenne (1672,8 mm) avec beaucoup de

statures moyennes et petites, un accomplissement eutrophique et sous-eutrophique, mésatiscellie et sous-mésatiscellie et la forme du tronc intermédiaire et rectangulaire (spécifique féminine). La pigmentation est prédominant foncée pour les cheveux et intermédiaire pour l'iris mais avec des fréquences appréciables d'iris clair (24-28%). Et sans une référence à la morphophysionomie mais basés spécialement sur les dimensions absolues, les auteurs donnent la diagnose suivante pour les hommes de Maramureș : 33,79% – nordique (N) ; 26,95% – dinarique (D) ; 20,31% – (M)

méditerranéenne ; 13,73% – est-européenne (E) ; 5,15% – alpin (A) et 0,05% mongoloïde. Bien sûr, Maramureș se trouve au nord de la Roumanie ! Les mêmes auteurs, selon la même diagnose raciale d'Eickstedt (diagnose élaborée pendant la période d'entre les deux guerres mondiales), apprécient aussi les populations de Delta du Danube (mais ils ajoutent aussi des caractères morphophysionomiques). Quoique les Russes et les Ukrainiens soient d'origine slave, pour leur caractéristiques, que nous les avons présentées ci-dessus, les auteurs donnent les suivantes diagnoses, aussi pour le Roumain, sans indiquer les fréquences (elles manquent aussi dans les figures) : les Roumains : en ordre du poids, N, D, M, E (A) ; les Russes et les Ukrainiens : N, D, E, M, (A). On observe que les roumains sont nordico-dinardo-méditerranéens tandis que les Russes et les Ukrainiens sont nordico-dinardo-est-européens. (Européen = ost-baltique). Mais ces populations sont aussi situées au nord, au nord de la Dobroudja ! Mais parmi les anthropologues existent naturellement des opinions différentes comme il existe des échelles de classifications différentes où différemment comprises. Par exemple, dans l'*Atlas du Banat du Sud-Est* (pp. 282-299), les Allemands du Banat sont caractérisés de type nordique prédominant par la stature grande et au-dessus de la moyenne, la face haute (en texte, longue), macrocormie, eutrophie et sous – eutrophie, menton marqué, lèvre dermique supérieure droite, pigmentation claire etc. et de type alpin par brachy- et hyperbrachycéphalie, la hauteur plus basse de la calotte etc. Mais les nordiques se caractérisent par métrio- et brachycormie, une calotte plus basse, menton parfois retiré etc. C'est le dinarique qui a aussi la stature grande ou au-dessus de la moyenne, macrocormie, brachy- et hyperbrachycéphalie, menton marqué, lèvre dermique aussi droite etc. Dans l'*Atlas de la Roumanie*, volume II, les auteurs placent les populations des provinces selon les types des morphogrammes taxinomiques et font aussi une liaison avec les types raciaux « correspondants ». Ici les arguments respectent relativement la classification mais sont affectés par l'utilisation de l'échelle d'Eickstedt pour l'indice nasal, comme sont affectées toutes les caractérisations anthropologiques de tous les Atlas.

Nous faisons quelques commentaires concernant la caractérisation « bio-anthropologique » qui est présentée dans les Atlas des provinces et ceux de la Roumanie. Le chapitre respectif demande des précisions concernant quelques dénominations des caractères, des leurs phénotypes conformes aux catégories de l'échelle correspondante, des auteurs des unes échelles etc. On sait que le concept de « race humaine » c'est un concept classificatoire, typologique, conventionnel en taxinomie qui a été « couvert, caché » stratégiquement ou diplomatiquement, pour sa réverbération délicate, par des syntagmes: « structure anthropologique », « type anthropologique », « faciès anthropologique » etc. Les *Atlas anthropologiques de la Roumanie* et des provinces évitent, généralement, une caractérisation raciale (excepté les *Atlas de Maramureș* et de *Delta du Danube*, avec un chapitre spécial, et l'*Atlas de la Roumanie*, II, où quelques références aux divers types européens sont incluses dans la caractérisation générale). En dénomination des caractères: par exemple, n-gn est parfois considéré la longueur de la face et n-sn la longueur

du nez, mais elles sont des hauteurs, pas des longueurs (ni quand on parle d'un bébé!), des parties de la stature! C'est vraiment comique en parlant d'une « face longue » ou un « nez longue ». Chez nous il y a une chanson des enfants : « Au coin de la rue / On voit un nez! / Voilà notre Pierre / Un quart d'heure après! » La lèvre dermique supérieure, caractère morphologique, a aussi une hauteur mais on parle de sa longueur! Qui a vu une « lèvre longue »? Pour une série d'indices nous avons trouvé des abréviations différentes mais avec une présentation contradictoire: ex. IFT – l'indice fronto-temporal à la place de IFP – l'indice fronto-pariétal (ft-ft / eu-eu, comme il figure en morphogramme!). Tous les deux sont utilisés correctement mais nous avons trouvé une explication que l'indice c'est un rapport entre le diamètre frontal et le diamètre temporal !!! ICF transvers (al) – l'indice céphalo-facial est présenté en deux hypostases: de plusieurs fois est dénommé l'indice pariéto-zygomatique (zy-zy / eu-eu) ou IZP mais autre fois est présenté comme l'indice de la largeur mandibulaire rapporté à la tête : (go-go / eu-eu) ou IGP!!! Direction du front, en profil, avec les phénotypes: oblique, moyennement oblique, verticale – pour les uns verticale est droite. Mais, nous savons qu'une droite peut être oblique, verticale ou horizontale quand on parle de sa direction, pas de sa forme!!! Une telle confusion se fait en ce qui concerne l'orientation de la fente palpébrale: on dit qu'elle est droite tandis qu'elle est horizontale. Le menton peut être caractérisé par le contour, la hauteur, la position en plan facial etc. Quand nous ne référons à la position par rapport au plan facial le menton peut être proéminent, retiré ou au niveau du plan. Mais beaucoup d'auteurs voient le menton droit quand ceci se trouve au niveau de la face. L'orientation de la pointe du nez est notée comme droite quand ceci se dirige en avant avec une direction horizontale. *On se croirait que tous sont de droite!!!* On fait souvent la confusion entre la forme concave et convexe quand est appréciée, par exemple, la forme de la lèvre dermique supérieure (elle est convexe quand il existe un prognathisme!). Pour l'indice skellique, (V-sol – V-assise)/V-assise, uns des auteurs posent comme auteurs de l'échelle Martin, ou Martin-Saller mais l'auteur c'est Manouvrier, est l'indice est un important indice constitutionnel. Il faut noter que les individus, les populations, les types raciaux se caractérisent aussi par des différences concernant les diverses proportions corporelles. Par exemple, le nordique et le dinarique ont une stature élevée mais, concernant la proportion buste/stature, le nordique a des membres inférieurs plus longues et l'ossature gracile tandis que le dinarique a le buste plus haut, les membres inférieurs plus courts et l'ossature plus robuste etc.

Mais il y a un cas qui suscite vraiment l'étonnement: c'est l'utilisation de l'échelle d'Eickstedt pour l'indice nasal à la place de l'échelle de Martin, « universelle » ou « internationale » comme la dénommait prof. Olga Necrasov, échelle utilisée aussi par le Professeur Rainer dans ses enquêtes. L'échelle d'Eickstedt est très exigeante et, surprenant, ne se harmonise ni avec ses échelles pour les dimensions nasales, hauteur et largeur!!! C'est vrai, l'indice nasal n'illustre bien la conformation de la pyramide nasale, ceci apprécie seulement la largeur des ailes par rapport à la hauteur nasale. En utilisant l'échelle d'Eickstedt,

les phénotypes de l'indice pour les populations roumaines se placent, en général, prédominant dans la catégorie moyenne – de mésorhinie – mais aussi dans les autres catégories, leptorhinie et, ici vient la surprise, dans les catégories de camérhinie et même de hypercamérhinie. Personne n'a pas saisi la discordance: les nez camérhin et hypercamérhin sont caractéristiques aux mélanodermes (noirs) et aussi aux aborigènes australiens. Voilà un cas auquel les auteurs observent le placement discordant de l'indice nasal mais font un compromis: En utilisant l'échelle d'Eickstedt dans la recherche du village Alun, 1961, Suzana Pop et Theodor Enăchescu trouvent une moyenne de 62,5 qu'indique mésorhinie et une distribution des phénotypes aussi dans les classes de camérhinie et hypercamérhinie (35,7: 36,1%) et les auteurs écrivent : « En considérant les nos résultats concernant l'indice nasal pour les deux sexes, nous pouvons affirmer que la population d'Alun s'encadre selon l'échelle universelle dans les populations de type leptorhin et après la classification proposée par E. von Eickstedt pour l'Europe Centrale, Alun occupe un lieu moyen... » (Suzana Pop, T. Enăchescu, Vl. Georgescu, 1961, « Faciesul antropologic al satului Alun, Ținutul Pădurenilor, regiunea Hunedoara », *Probleme de Antropologie*, vol. VI, Editura Academiei RPR, 1961, pp. 111-156).

EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

Les volumes des Atlas anthropologiques des provinces et de la Roumanie comprennent la caractérisation anthropologique en unité et diversité des populations roumaines et des autres ethnies de Roumanie. On remarque les recherches spécialement sur les populations rurales, les conservatrices des traits biologiques mais aussi la recherche de la population de quelques centres urbains de Roumanie et l'étude des modifications diachroniques des traits anthropologiques de néolithique jusqu'aux nos jours. La présentation cohérente de la complexité des aspects analysés, les chapitres bien systématisés selon les thèmes, les figures, les diagrammes et les photos sont aussi d'appréciés. La méthodologie se met en évidence par l'analyse multivariée, la classification typologique originale et roumaine des dimensions et des conformations céphaliques et faciaux selon les modèles des morphogrammes taxinomiques ou par l'analyse de la corpulence des Roumains exprimée de l'indice de masse corporelle (IMC), une recherche importante pour la santé nutritionnelle. En 2018 – l'Année du Centenaire de l'Union des Roumains – les Atlas anthropologiques des provinces historiques et de la Roumanie font encore l'épreuve de leur l'appartenance historique, culturelle et aussi typologique à l'espace européen.

THE HISTORY OF ROMANIANS AS APOKATASTASIS

GHEORGHIȚĂ GEANĂ*

Abstract. In this article an original vision on the history of the Romanian people is presented. The point of reference is the idea of apokatastasis. In classical Greek – from which Christian (especially Eastern) thinking took many terms – “apokatastasis” (ἀποκατάστασις) means the reinstatement of a thing or a person to its previous condition: restoration, reestablishing. Concretely, since the fall from Heaven, the human being’s existential trajectory can be represented as *a continuous ascent towards regaining the Paradise lost*. In the present essay, beyond the theological controversies, the idea of apokatastasis will be taken in its pure dimension, for the sake of the exceptional relevance of the metaphor as such (with its meaning of recovering ascent) and for bearing an optimism of even Christian essence. Briefly, *the history of Romanians presents a striking similitude to the apokatastasic line of design followed by humanity*. Romanians’ primordial paradisiac state was *Dacia Felix*. The Roman conquest meant the fall from Paradise. Since then, the Carpatho-Danubian people is moving on an ascending trajectory, stimulated by the aspiration of reestablishing its primordial state. Two culminating moments in the past – the unification of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia under the voievode Michael the Brave (1600) and the Great Union in 1918 – prove that this ideal is not utopian. Obviously, the people should work with the hope in their souls, but Providence has the last word.

Keywords: apokatastasis, history of Romanians, Dacia Felix, Great Union, national day

HISTORY AS AESTHETIC CHALLENGE

There is a peculiarity of the historical facts to arrange themselves – successively and irreversibly – on the time axis in an *epic* concatenation, which opens up plastic (even aesthetic, broadly speaking) views over history itself, as domain of those facts.

This approach is not entirely new in the humanistic sciences; in the 1930’s, a few important anthropologists (Edward Sapir, Ruth Benedict and others) generated

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(independently and without any group affiliation, but obviously consensually) a tendency to explain the concept of “culture” and its concrete content in unusual terms for the strictly scientific speech common to the discipline – they were explicitly talking about an *aesthetic* manner of featuring culture and its aspects¹. Within the Romanian space, Lucian Blaga quietly and synchronously resonated with that tendency, elevating his discourse (through the idea of “Mioritic space”, through the metaphor of the Great Anonymous – alias God –, as well as through his entire ensemble of metaphoric concepts) to the level of the points of view in the Euro-American anthropology of the time².

BACK TO HISTORY

In his novel *The Possessed* [Demons, in Russian original: *Бесы*], Dostoevsky makes Ivan Shatov, one of the emblematic characters in the novel, perorate about the God–nation relationship. Unleashed in dialogue with Stavrogin, Shatov exclaims: “The people is the body of God. Every people is only a people so long as it has its own god and excludes all other gods on earth irreconcilably; so long as it believes that by its god it will conquer and drive out of the world all other gods. Such, from the beginning of time, has been the belief of all great nations, all, anyway, who have been especially remarkable, all who have been leaders of humanity”³. Thus, in that character’s view (whose voice is that of Dostoevsky himself, if we are to believe Berdyaev⁴) history is a sort of fight between Gods of nations; each nation has a God of its own, and the multitude of terrestrial fights, all

¹ See: Richard Handler, “Vigorous Male and Aspiring Female. Poetry, Personality, and Culture in Edward Sapir and Ruth Benedict”, in: George W. Stocking, Jr. (ed.), *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict, and Others. Essays on Culture and Personality*, pp. 127–155, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986; Judith Modell, “‘It Is Besides a Pleasant English Word’ – Ruth Benedict’s Concept of Pattern”, in: *Anthropological Quarterly*, 62 (1989), pp. 27–40.

² Cf. Gheorghită Geană, “Ideas of Culture. Romanians Para-Anthropologists in the First Half of the Twentieth Century”, in: *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 35 (1999), pp. 23–40; *Idem*, “Mioritic Wedding: A Creative Solution to an Existential Crisis”, in: *Journal of Ritual Studies*, 30/2016, (2): 13–23; Michael S. Jones, *The Metaphysics of Religion: Lucian Blaga and Contemporary Philosophy*, Madison / Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006 (especially Part I: “Exposition of Blaga’s Philosophy”, pp. 19–152).

³ Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Possessed*, translated by Constance Garnett, Introduction by Elizabeth Dalton, New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2004, p. 141.

⁴ In his writing Dostoevsky: *An Interpretation* (Russian orig. 1934: *Мирозерцание Достоевского*; Romanian version here quoted: *Conceptia despre lume a lui Dostoevski*, 1992), Nicholas Berdyaev states: “The contradictions, the temptations and the sin of the Russian messianic idea are all included in the character Shatov. Had Dostoevsky been entirely freed from Shatov’s conception? Of course Dostoevsky is not Shatov, but he loved Shatov and a part of Shatov exists in him as well” (*op. cit.*, p. 120). Romanian criticist Valeriu Cristea noticed the same ideological relation between the character Shatov and his literary creator in *Dictionarul personajelor lui Dostoevski* [The Dictionary of Dostoevsky’s Characters], 2nd edition. Iași: Editura Polirom, 2007, p. 752.

those small or big wars that take place here, on Earth, are but projections of confrontations happening at a celestial level. And certainly, it is a nation's duty to believe that, at the end of times, its own God will be the winner.

By comparison, Hegel's view preserves the dramatic character of the confrontation of opposites, purified, nevertheless, of bellicose accents. The great German philosopher considered history as the becoming of the universal spirit towards self-consciousness. In this becoming, the universal spirit expresses itself through the national spirits: "In a succession of stages, the principles of peoples' spirits are themselves only moments of a universal spirit that, by them, rises and achieves in history as a self-comprising *totality*"⁵. What Hegel ignores here is the fact that, along the history, within this totality there are nations fighting with each other for what would subsequently be designated (by Friedrich Ratzel) as "vital space" (*Lebensraum*). Every nation has a natural need for such a space of its own, and everything falls into a good order when their vital space coincides with their homeland, i.e. the place of origin. Yet, very few nations have the wisdom to stay on this natural course. Therefore, Hegel realizes that one moment in history can be seen as existing both in reality and ideally. From the German philosopher's Baroque rhetoric in which his own view on the philosophy of history is embedded, we will refer to two basic postulates, both encouragingly optimistic: (1) "reason masters the world, and that is why the universal history develops rationally"⁶; and (2) "freedom is the only truth of the spirit"⁷, and therefore "the universal history is the progress in the consciousness of freedom"⁸, and also: "freedom (...) is its own object for itself to reach, is the only object of the spirit"⁹.

THE IDEA OF APOKATASTASIS

The present paper is aligned to this type of discourse. It should be understood from the beginning that the stake of this exposition is not some exceptional discovery in the history of the Romanian people. The essential data of our history are well known, broadly and even in detail. What we try to do here – in the good faith and humbleness of someone who reflects constantly on the Romanian destiny – is to deliver a plastic image of the history of the Romanians, an image that could help us understand if and what we, as a nation, can still have hopes for the twelfth hour of the universal becoming. It is a vision inspired, actually, by the destiny of the entire humanity.

⁵ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1992, pp. 104–105 (italics in original).

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 32.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

The vision here proposed is well expressed by the notion of “apokatastasis”. The term is better known to theologians, and less to laymen. A minimum of an etymological analysis is therefore necessary. In classical Greek – from which Christian (especially Eastern) thinking took many terms – “apokatastasis” (ἀποκατάστασις) means “the reinstatement of a thing or a person to their previous condition; restoration”¹⁰. Assuming the term, theologians took the notion “previous condition” to mean “primordial condition”¹¹. In particular: since the fall from Heaven, the human being’s existential trajectory can be represented as a continuous uphill, even if with stumbling blocks, wanderings, hardships, but, through repentance and benevolence, *a continuous ascent towards regaining the Paradise lost*. Briefly, this is the essence of the notion of apokatastasis in the context of the present paper.

Is there a certitude that this aim of regaining the lost Paradise can be reached? There are signs that the humankind, in its wanderings, can err into Apocalypse; the moment is described in the Holy Scripture. There is also a basic premise that the Paradise – even though in a transfigured hypostasis compared to the primordial one – can be recovered without bringing humans under tremendous trauma. I am thinking here of the very common and simple saying: “God doesn’t want the sinner’s perdition, but their atonement and redemption”; sprung maybe from a popular

¹⁰ Cf. Anatole Bailly, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Grec-Français*, édition revue par Louis Séchan et Pierre Chantraine, Paris: Hachette, 2000 (orig. 1894), p. 226b.

¹¹ See Ion M. Stoian, *Dicționar religios: Termeni religioși, credințe populare și nume proprii* [Religious Dictionary: Religious Terms, Folk Beliefs, and Proper Names], București: Editura Garamond, 1994, p. 27. The idea of apokatastasis is attributed to Origen (see details in: Ioan G. Coman, *Patrologie* [Patrology], vol. 2, București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al B.O.R. [Publishing House of the Biblical and Missionary Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church], 1985, pp. 371–376). Indeed, in *Peri archon* (*On First Principles*, 2013), one of his reference works, Origen (185–254 AD) reckons that at the end of the restoration process “every thing which is the rational mind, when purified from all the dregs of its vices and utterly cleared from every cloud of wickedness, can feel or understand or think will be all God and that the mind will no longer be conscious of anything besides or other than God, but will think God and see God and hold God and God will be the mode and measure of its every movement; and in this way God will be all to it. For there will no longer be any contrast of good and evil, since evil nowhere exists; for God, whom evil never approaches, is then all things to it; nor will one who is always in the good and to whom God is all things desire any longer to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gn 2:17)” (*Op. cit.*, p. 324). At the Vth oecumenical synod of Constantinople (553 AD), the institution of Church condemned the idea of apokatastasis for the supposed concession to the absolute evil with the implicit consequence of denying hell. On the other hand, in a letter to one of his friends of Alexandria, Origen complained that his writings had been falsely interpreted, and an assertion like the one attributed to him – that at the end of time the Devil himself will be redeemed – could not be expressed by anyone, not even by a mad person! (cf. Teodor Bodogae, “Studiu introductiv” [Introduction] to Origen, *Scriserile alese* [Selected Writings], 3rd part, transl., introduction, and notes by Teodor Bodogae, București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al B.O.R., 1982, p. 22). Above all, Church recognized Origen as a great Christian philosopher and Gregory of Nyssa accepted even the idea of apokatastasis. *Hic et nunc*, in the present essay, beyond the theological nuances, the idea of apokatastasis will be taken in its pure dimension, for the sake of the exceptional relevance of the metaphor as such (with its meaning of recovering ascent) and for the very Christian-like optimism carried by it.

theology, therefore all the more worth taking into consideration, the saying is confirmation that everything that is happening, in one sense or the other, happens according to a divine project. If the humankind will err and fall, it will reach the Apocalypse and then will be revived: in Father Dumitru Stăniloae's view¹², it will be transfigured into a new, deified state. But until then, the real people's duty is to hope and to improve their living formula day after day and time after time.

*

The understandable analogy tempts us to transfer this apokatastasic vision onto the history of the Romanian people.

Let us make a short examination of the psychological state of the Romanians. *Are they, today*, after a few millennia of history, *a happy nation, a fulfilled one*? We got rid of communism, we got free of the dictatorial regime, we are integrated in the European Union, in NATO – and nevertheless, the question remains: are Romanians a happy people?

However, let us not rush into finding the answer simply by looking through the moment's lens. To answer such questions based simply on facts like our integration in various super-state formations would imply a momentary, ephemeral reaction. We are instead interested in finding the profound, true answer. Simion Mehedinți, talking about a people, said that this is a "biogeographic entity"¹³ – meaning a form of life existing within a natural space on the planet. With such a biogeographic entity in view, we have to ascertain whether the Romanian people is *fulfilled*, that is whether its real existence is in a good relation to its ideal existence, whether its vital space coincides with its homeland¹⁴.

It is unfortunate that, in this hour of history, we do not think the answer to this question to be affirmative. There cannot talk of happiness as long as there are a few good millions of Romanians who do not live within the boundaries of the

¹² Cf. *Teologia Dogmatică Ortodoxă* [Dogmatic Orthodox Theology], vol. 3, București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al B.O.R., especially pp. 401–429 about "The essence of the resurrected bodies". (Stăniloae, Dumitru [1903–1993] was an outstanding orthodox theologian of the 20th century; he wrote mainly in Romanian, but his works were translated in Greek, English, French, German.)

¹³ Cf. S. Mehedinți, *Poporul* [The People], 2nd ed., București: Editura Viața Românească, 1921, pp. 13–19. (Mehedinți, Simion [1868–1962]: geographer, ethnologist, and pedagogist, professor at the University of Bucharest, a disciple of Friedrich Ratzel; his treatise *Terra*, 2 vols, 1931, was *summa geographica* at that time.)

¹⁴ In an era more and more insistently characterized as global, one could think that this outlook is anachronist. Yet, we would invite any such voice to agree that the extraordinary social dynamics in today's world is undoubtedly based on the movement of *individual* humans, and therefore *there are individuals, not peoples, who migrate*. Even though it is easier to cross borders (certainly, a beneficial aspect for the intercultural and inter-human communication), nations remain (still, indeterminately) compact masses of people, each with their own social and political organization, as distinct entities with legitimate particular identities. Moreover, the relation ethnicity–globalization is only superficially one of incompatibility. In essence, the two tendencies are complementary; see this idea developed in: Gheorghită Geană, "Ethnicity and Globalisation: Outline of a Complementarist Conceptualisation", in *Social Anthropology. Journal of the European Association of Social Anthropologists*, 5(2), 1997: 197–209.

modern Romanian state. A few months ago, I had the opportunity to see an outstanding illustrated monograph of the Romanians¹⁵, created by a Bessarabian, Professor Vasile Șoimaru, who traveled through all the areas inhabited by Romanians outside Romania towards this achievement; it is an impressive tome due to the multitude and beauty of about 1000 coloured images: images from Bessarabia, from Bukovina, from the Istro-Romanians, from the Romanians in the Serbian Banat, from the Romanians in the northern Italy, from Switzerland, from Canada and so on. A very touching chapter is titled “Children of the Romanians: from the foot of Caucasus to the Rockies”. According to his own confession, when attempting to have a conversation with those people, the author has often been received with mistrust or apprehension. The questions continue to arise: Why this attitude? Why are those people afraid to say that they are Romanians? Can someone who is afraid to show one or another facet of their identity be happy?

THE LOST PARADISE: DACIA FELIX

Let us go back to the idea of apokatastasis. In this view, the reference point when judging our destiny (as people) is Dacia Felix. The phrase may appear to be a romantic label, it being overused by our romanticist writers. Yet, far from being just a fictional creation – artistically imagined or mythologically fixated – *this phrase has been discovered and assumed from the inscriptions on certain ancient Roman coins*¹⁶. As a matter of fact, a lot of archaeological discoveries prove the real prosperity of the Dacian society.

Once adopted by romanticists, this image of Dacia started to stimulate their spirit in all sorts of ways¹⁷. Alecu Russo¹⁸, for example, describes that paradisiac land from imagination, in a series of short phrases, creating the effect of illuminations in the fog of the past: “In ancient times... long, long time ago... the sky was serene... the sun was shining bright like a young man... beautiful plains,

¹⁵ Vasile Șoimaru, *Românii din jurul României: Monografie etnofotografică* [The Romanians From Around Romania: An Ethnophotographic Monograph], Onești: Editura Magic Print & Chișinău: Editura Serebia, 2014.

¹⁶ Bronze coins with the inscription “Dacia Felix” have been issued in Dacia between 246–257 AD, by special permission for this Roman province by the emperor Filip the Older (cf. P. P. Panaitescu, *Introducere la istoria culturii românești* [Introduction to the History of the Romanian Culture], București: Editura Științifică, 1969, p. 67. According to some sources, coin emissions with the caption “Dacia Felix” continued to be attested even during the reign of Emperor Aurelian (270–275 AD) (cf. Constantin C. Giurescu, coord., *Istoria României în date* [The Chronological History of Romania], București: Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1971, p. 40).

¹⁷ See the theme developed in: Ovidia Babu-Buznea, *Dacii în conștiința romanticilor noștri* [The Dacians in the Consciousness of Romanian Romanticists], București: Editura Minerva (“Universitas” Collection), 1979.

¹⁸ Alecu Russo (1819–1859), Romanian romanticist writer, revolutionary of 1848; he travelled to Occident and synchronized his thinking with the national movements in Europe of his epoch.

surrounded by green mountains, were stretching more than the eye could see... young forests were shading the hills... flocks of animals were heard mooing from a distance... stallions were neighing, playing in the glades... in a green meadow, Liberty, a fair young girl, with long and golden braids, was playing with a relaxed bow. Happy people of the plains, happy people of the highlands!...”¹⁹.

The poet Dimitrie Bolintineanu, on his turn, playing on a “pan-eroticism that vibrates universally”²⁰, restores the image of Dacia through idyllic-erotic dramatic scenes, in which Roman soldiers and Dacian girls are gallivanting together. Such images spread throughout the poem *Traianida* are edulcorative; they do not represent the reality, and (no matter how great the temptation) not even a real basis of the mythological productions with respect to human life at that time and in that place. Their meaning is an allegoric one, not uncommon in that epoch. What is certain though is that the entire scale of romanticist conscience shared a fascination for that auroral moment – from Naum Râmniceanu to Gheorghe Asachi and Mihail Kogălniceanu, or to the already mentioned Alecu Russo and Dimitrie Bolintineanu, to culminate with Eminescu²¹.

In Eminescu’s poems, the image of the Dacian paradise benefits from the never-before-reached level of his poetic art – both from an artistic point of view (lexicon and alchemy of the words), as well as from that of the cognitive elements. The reference here is, of course, to the great poem *Memento mori*. Here there are several verses – selected with great difficulty from among many others, no less brilliant – that are emblematic in the history of the Romanian spirituality for representing the “Dacian heaven” (in the poet’s own words). First, the gods, sitting on thrones of “black rough rocks”, in a green landscape, “from goblets drinking aurora with white foggy foam”, guarded by the sun and the moon:

“As if painted in the sunlight, the old gods keep watch serene,
Their white hair is softly gleaming, to the waist big beards fall stream,
One can count their faces’ wrinkles in the clear air all around;
The dark vestments whitely glisten in the brightness of the sight.
Risen glasses turn them joyful, and a cheerful mirth incite,
And the bashful moon is glancing, seldom peeking at her surround.”

¹⁹ Alecu Russo, *Cântarea României* [Eulogy to Romania], verse 13. Chişinău: Editura Litera, 1998 (1906, post.), p. 141.

²⁰ Cf. Mihai Zamfir, *Scurtă istorie: Panorama alternativă a literaturii române* [A Concise History: Alternative Panorama of the Romanian Literature], 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. Bucureşti & Iaşi: Cartea Românească & Polirom, 2012, p. 141.

²¹ Generally consecrated as the national poet of Romanians, Mihai Eminescu (1850–1889), with his exceptional talent, served equally the aesthetic ideal in itself as well as the historical ideal of his people. In his view, the destiny of Romanians was to become a nation of culture at the mouths of the Danube. His figure has become emblematic for the collective consciousness and his birthday (15 January) is celebrated as the day of Romanians’ national culture.

And the nature:

“In a world where shadows aren’t, lies the city of the sun,
Virgin light and wholesome pleasure radiate on every run,
Flowers grow in melting fields, rivers spread their limpid shimmer;
Far away, in the blue distance, one can guess, anon, anon,
Awesome gardens in the radiance of the clearly nascent morn,
Roses gathered in the thickets, lilies in their garb of silver.”

And explicitly:

“It is Dacia’s paradise – the old country’s Gods’ empire;
Here forever day – and there, evening’s perpetual attire,
Yet somewhere else eternal morning, with refreshing air of May;
Behold, the souls of Dacia’s most courageous and greatest
Appearing brightly in long rows from the death resurrected –
Through doors from heaven in the sunlight, they slide slowly from the sky.”²²

In *Memento mori*, Eminescu makes the entire episode of Dacia Felix appear to be a part of the universal history’s grandiose performance; some critics compared this poem with *La Légende des siècles*, by Victor Hugo. Under the cover of romanticist terms and metaphors, the poet actually develops a captivating philosophy of history.

The virginal figure of Dochia – as emblematic character, and also as ethnonymic personification (one cannot ignore the pun Dacia/Dochia; sometimes the character’s name is even Dacia) – appears also in Eminescu’s poem. Here, nevertheless, Dacia and her follower, Trajan, who is quite the emperor of Rome, stand in sheer contrast to Bolintineanu’s plebeian characters²³. This time, we deal with two *characters*, each of them endowed with representative-symbolic value.

THE FALL FROM HISTORY AND AN ENIGMATIC ASCENT

We know, with concrete facts, what followed: the *Roman conquest*. Fascinated with the resplendence of the Roman civilization – “master of the world” – our romanticist poets depicted the conquest in metaphors for a matrimonial synthesis. In Dimitrie Bolintineanu’s tone, yet rather Eminescian in vision – charged with

²² M. Eminescu, *Opere alese* [Selected Works], vol. II, edited and preface by Perpessicius, 2nd edition. București: Editura Minerva, “Scriitori Români” collection, 1973, pp. 137, 139, 140.

²³ The fragment describing Trajan who follows the virgin (“Dacia runs off with her sheep and golden horn rams, / She has fair hair, blue eyes, and gentle tender face”) appears in the first variant – titled *Panorama deșertăciunii* [Panorama of the Vanity] – of the poem, in: Eminescu, *Opere* [Works], vol. V, Perpessicius monumental critical edition. București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1958, p. 86.

great passion, where quotidian characters are transfigured to reach the condition of ethnic symbols –, Vasile Pârvan²⁴ brings about a post-romanticist view (actually still romanticist – *late* romanticist – in style and inspiration) on a frantic love story between Rome (a masculinized Rome – how could it not be! – named Romul) and Dacia, a fierce virgin from the Carpathian Mountains. A frantic love story, as we have just said, from which the Romanian people was born²⁵.

Things and events take a surprising turn though. In terms of historical ontology, the Roman conquest should have entailed a collapse; indeed, history in general registers conquests that turn into loss for the vanquished: loss of territory, freedom and identity. Yet, in this case, the denomination “Dacia Felix” appears

²⁴ Vasile Pârvan (1882–1927): archaeologist, professor at the University of Bucharest, originally mixed together the scientific method with a poetical rhetoric. By this combination of styles subordinated to an ardent patriotism, he exerted a strong influence over the young intellectuals in the interwar period. Five lectures he delivered at the University of Cambridge in March 1926 have been published posthumously (1928) under the title *Dacia: An Outline of Early Civilizations of the Carpatho-Danubian Countries* (Cambridge University Press).

²⁵ As Pârvan’s rhetoric cannot be narrated, only reproduced, with its original rhythm and euphony, it is necessary for us to report here the fragment in its entirety, conceived as a song of Euterpe, the muse of lyrical poetry and of music itself:

“Sing, Euterpe, the song of Dacia.

«Dacia, the virgin maiden, was disturbing your peace, oh, divine Romul. Beautiful and cruel, she was devastating your country like the heat of the summer, with rushes of fire and wailing. That was the destiny of the wild maiden: to deplete, to set on fire, to sow terror all around her. Your brightness, your power, your beauty, Romul, made you so attractive to her; yet, while you, from your clouded peace, were reaching out to her, she, like Diana, in her wildly conceived freedom, was always retreating in her impenetrable woods. And suddenly, your soul as well caught fire, lured by the cruel maiden. And you wanted to take her. With her Atalantean force, the unobtainable fairy put you down, bleeding from your wounds. You did not love her enough, and could not break her. [At this point, Pârvan caught the failure of Roman Empire to conquer Dacia by a single tentative (101–102 AD); only after a second war (105–106 AD) the Romans could extend their domination over Dacians, as follows:]

Then, Aphrodite, smiling at her own killer joke, ordered Eros to dart at you with his arrow. Your soul caught fire like the sun in the middle of the day. You seized her, you fought with her, you got wounded and you wounded her, you lingerly gazed at each other, two sworn enemies, you kissed her, but did not overtake her. From passionate shame for being conquered, from spite at the power with which you broke her, from fierce rage at being kissed, she prepared herself to kill you. And Aphrodite was divinely smiling: how else could two gods kill each other if not through love? And you, oh invincible one, you conquered her. Your embraces blazing from all the heat of your fiery summers, your kisses full of the sweetness of your melodious italic songs, your words gentler than the caress of your warm winters, your eyes shining from the serene brightness of your transparent seas. And the maiden who had hated you like no one, man or god, hated you before, she loved you like no woman had loved you before. She became you, and to her children, she alone among all the women loved by you, she gave them your name. And they fought, and they died, but century after century they preserved: your name, your likeness, your mind, your voice, your brightness, your glory.

Oh, Dacia, Romul,

Glory to you!»”

(Fragment from “Memoriale” [Memorials], in: Vasile Pârvan, *Scriseri* [Writings], edited, with introduction and notes, by Alexandru Zub, București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1981, pp. 535–536).

only *after* the Roman conquest! Paradox? Discordance? Not at all! This is rather a toponymical-onomastic *consecration* of a state of wellness which, actually, precedes the Roman conquest and persists with it! In fact, *the real collapse would have happened when the emperor Aurelian decided to withdraw his army from Dacia*, which started in 271 AD!

To the Romans, Dacia has constituted a pleasant surprise; they considered it the most thriving region among all those ever conquered by them. Two centuries after the Aurelian withdrawal, Rome continued to be tempted to re-conquer it. Nevertheless, incapable to resist the barbarian invasions, *the recently born Daco-Roman society seems to exit history for a long duration...*

*

However, let's talk about what happened in the living reality after that collapse.

During the subsequent centuries, a quiet existence within a natural geographic scenery very favorable to demographic conservation got established. We are thinking of the "countries" formed in certain basins of the Carpathian space, anthropogeographic entities that Nicolae Iorga called Romanias – "the small Romanias": Oaș Country, Vrancea Country, Bârsa Country, Lovișteea Country, and so on. Ion Chelcea, a diligent ethnographer, offered a very suggestive image regarding the origin and function of these anthropogeographic units. He imagined a series of massive rainfalls on an uneven terrain; after the recession of the waters, silt will fill the dents in the ground. A similar phenomenon could have happened in the mountainous depressions: after the barbarian invasions, unharmed parts of the autochthon population would have survived in the countries of which we are talking about, continuing to carry on the anthropologic Daco-Roman element to modern times²⁶.

Those anthropologic elements have not led an amorphous, vegetative existence. They lived organized in "*obști*" (collectively organized communities), and, politically speaking, in "*cnezate*" (principalities) and "*voievodate*" (voivodeships). The way of life of these groups of autochthonous population has been (not exclusively, but mainly) one that tied them to land. Directly said, they were a population of countrymen or peasants ("*țărani*"). As noted elsewhere²⁷, the Romanian society is the only known one in which the language has kept untouched the connection between the initial term (Latin in this case) for "land" (*terra*) on the one hand, and the terms for the space on which that land is spread ("*țară*", obviously from *terra*, – *ae* in Latin) and the people who work the land ("*țaran*", from *terrānus*, –*i*) on the other hand²⁸.

²⁶ See: Ion Chelcea, "Vrancea ca 'țară' între celelalte" [Vrancea as a 'country' among the others], in *Studii și comunicări* [Studies and Papers]. Focșani, 1978, pp. 167–190.

²⁷ Gheorghiță Geană, "Un fapt social total: legătura țăranului cu pământul" [A Total Social Fact: The Romanian Peasant's Bond to Their Land], in: Ilie Bădescu, Ozana Cucu-Oancea, Gheorghe Șișeștean (coord.), *Tratat de sociologie rurală* [Treatise of Rural Sociology]. București: Editura Mica Valahie, 2009, pp. 235–237.

²⁸ To compare: *terre / pays, paysan* in French; *Erde / Land, Bauer* in German; *earth / country, peasant* in English; *zemlia / strana, creștinian* (Christian!) in Russian.

So, what happened to these abiding and peaceful people, attached to their land, when faced with invasions that lasted for one millennium? We know, and in the same time do not know very well. In early analyses, it has been said that they used to hide in the mountains, then came back home once the danger passed. The truth is much more unclear: they were hiding in forests, which, in those times, were covering not just the mountains, but also the hill areas, as well as compact zones in the plains (as proved by the legendary Vlăsiei Woods still present in the social memory).

Yet, can this defense mechanism through adaptation to terrain be equated to a withdrawal from history? The poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga named this behaviour “boycotting history”²⁹, thus diminishing the negativity of that hypostasis, with the observation that the withdrawal has never signified a fusion with the “a-stylistic organic” register, but rather a placement on the “minor” coordinates of childhood in terms of stylistic age. “This does not imply at all that peasant art, rural architecture, folk poetry and music have not reached a wonderful efflorescence during those times”³⁰. In other words, the Romanian (or proto-Romanian) people retreat when confronted with harmful situations, but their spirit proves to be creative, feeding of the inexhaustible supply of a “phreatic genius”³¹.

Something else, of great significance, happened as well: *the emergence and spreading of Christianity*. Clothed in Latin (theoretically and communication-wise speaking), Christianity appeared in the Roman Empire, and Dacia has been one of the first Christianized regions. Archaeological and epigraphic data confirm the phenomenon in the 3rd century AD; certain elements of continuity between the autochthone Zalmoxian religion and Christianity made the transition possible at that time³². It was done apostolically: Andrew, Apostle Peter’s brother, himself has preached the teachings of Jesus in Scythia Minor (Dobrudja of today). We are reassured that “the phenomenon happened early, deliberately, profoundly and with no coercion”³³, which does not mean that there have not been sacrificial martyrdoms, as we know of a genuine cult for martyrs who “continued and spread the cult of ‘Christ the Arch-martyr’”³⁴.

²⁹ Lucian Blaga, *Trilogia culturii* [Trilogy of Culture], București: Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă, 1944, p. 301.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 307.

³¹ On the facets and brilliance of this type of creativity, see Gheorghiu Geană, „Ipostaze ale genialității freitice” [Hypostases of the Phreatic Genius], in: *Caietele de la Putna*, 5, 2012, pp. 56–72.

³² In this regard, it has been convincingly said, for example, that the Geto-Dacians were “almost Christian before Christianity” (S. Mehedinți-Soveja, *Creștinismul românesc: Adaos la caracterizarea etnografică a poporului român* [Romanian Christianity: A Supplement to the Ethnographic Characterization of the Romanian People], București: Cugetarea – Georgescu Delafras, 1941, pp. 33, 40). Similarities between the Geto-Dacians’ Zalmoxian religion and Christianity have been noticed as well by outstanding patristic writers like Clement of Alexandria, or Gregory of Nazianzus (cf. Ioan G. Coman, *Scriitori bisericești din epoca străromână* [Romanian Writers in the Proto-Romanian Epoch], București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al B.O.R., 1979, p. 366).

³³ Ioan G. Coman, *Ibidem*.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 297 (subchapter “The cult of martyrs”, pp. 294–299).

Consequently, Christianity, the Romanian language, and the Romanian people form a kind of *sui generis trinity*, which is well accomplished in the 8th century. To fraternize in thinking with Hegel, not only the spirit did not linger during the autochthone retreat, but it did not cease to be at work. The so-called fall from history has been only appearance. *During all those centuries, the proto-Romanian being retreats from history's exteriority, but enters its immanence through the action of the universal spirit (illustrated by Christianity).*

EXITING THE ENIGMA AND THE SLICED IDEAL

In our attempt to present the apokatastasic destiny of the Romanian people we insisted so far especially on the initial (paradisiac) moment of Dacia Felix – with its heavy load of enigma and miracle – then on the fall, and later yet on the beginning of an ascent for the masse of Daco-Romans. The ascent after the fall proved to have been full of trials, and therefore mysterious, unobtrusive, subdued, ahoretic³⁵. We referred previously to the words “enigmatic” and “miraculous”. Ferdinand Lot had used them in his book *Les invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe* (1937), in which the French historian manifests himself as an adversary of the strategic idea of the Romanian continuation in their space of origin. One chapter in this book, “Une énigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain”, inspired the historian G. I. Brătianu to write a review, itself as big as the book involved, also in French, named with the same title as the chapter in Lot's work.

The crowning of this first phase in the ascent takes place at the end of the 8th century, when, according to trustworthy historians, the historic being of the Romanian people is already formed. Nevertheless, exiting the enigma will come later: Gheorghe Brătianu considered this important moment to be the state

³⁵ “Ahoretia” (from Greek “α-, αv-” + “χορός” = without/lack of/ rejecting determinations) is a term coined by the Romanian philosopher Constantin Noica (1909–1988) to designate – in the context of his system of ontology – the lack or refusal of things and entities to appropriate or exhibit all kind of properties. Romanians, for example, along their history, did not covet the territories and liberty of other peoples. In this context Noica's reflection: “the greatest triumph of the ahoretic beings is usually acquired at a late moment in time and is based on a late wisdom” is most adequate (C. Noica, *Spiritul românesc în cumpătul vremii: Șase maladii ale spiritului contemporan* [Romanian Spirit in Temporal Circumstances: Six Maladies of the Contemporary Spirit], 1978, p. 162, București: Editura Univers). An ahoretic symptom is also Romanians' refusal to establish the beginning of their history by a chronological landmark (Dacia Felix being a spiritual one). Nothing more suggestive in this respect than the famous dialogue provoked by a Hungarian nobleman of Transylvania in 1896, when the Hungarians celebrated the so called “millenium” – a thousand years since their establishing in Pannonia; here is the dialogue as it was placed by the historian David Prodan as Motto to his book *Transilvania și iar Transilvania* [Transylvania and again Transylvania], București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2002: “The Hungarian nobleman, haughtily: «When will you, Romanians, celebrate, too, one thousand years since settling here?». The Romanian-Transylvanian peasant: «We have always been here!»”.

formation in Țara Românească and Moldova (both happening in the 14th century), while Transylvania was already a voivodship based on a large autonomy. “From this moment on, the history of the Romanian people, under Hungarian or imperial domination in Transylvania, or subject to the Ottoman authority at the end of the 15th century and of the Russian protectorate from the 18th century in the principalities, ceases to be an enigma; it still remains a miracle or, maybe, a series of miracles, from which, the most recent, attaining national unification in the 19th and 20th centuries, right here, at the crossroads of all the invasions and the rival imperialist tendencies, is by all means not a minor one”³⁶.

Yet, ceasing to be an enigma takes the Romanian people – divided as it was in three state formations: Moldova, Țara Românească and Transylvania – by surprise. The enigma of their survival and continuity seems to be solved from an *existential* point of view, and, in the same time, only prolonged from a *political* point of view, due to the “slicing” in three parts. In a 1938 study (subsequently re-edited³⁷) – “De ce au fost Țara Românească și Moldova țări separate?” [Why Were Wallachia and Moldova Two Distinct Countries?] – P. P. Panaitescu explained the situation of the two extra-Carpathian principalities in detail, with enlightening reflections for the one inside the Carpathian arch as well. He discusses: the geographic aspect of the situation (mountains, rivers), commercial roads, zones of political influences, dynastic tradition etc. In his analysis, the eminent historian states conclusively: “Let us avoid confusing the solidarity between the different branches of our people, which is a *sentiment*, with the *political idea* of a Romanian unitary state, which is an entirely different matter. Based on evidence, we can allege that this idea did not exist in the 17th century, not even in the 18th moreover, the most enlightened intellectuals and statesmen considered it to be absurd, even dangerous. And this is not because they did not love their country, but the political views in those times were contrary to such an idea”³⁸.

ACTIVE FACTORS OF THE APOKATASTASIC IDEAL

Nevertheless, a unitary Romanian state was going to come into being, first in 1859, then completed in 1918. What one can conclude from all these discordances and concordances is that separatist or politicalizing (in modern lingo) criteria have *momentary* won, yet, *in time*, the solidarity factor, the national awareness of

³⁶ G. I. Brătianu, *O enigmă și un miracol istoric: poporul român* [An Enigma and a Historical Miracle: Romanian People], edited, preface, study and notes by Stelian Brezeanu, translation by Marina Rădulescu. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988, p. 155.

³⁷ P. P. Panaitescu, *Interpretări românești* [Romanian Interpretations], 2nd ed., postface, notes and commentary by Ștefan S. Gorovei and Maria Magdalena Székely. București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994 (ed. I: 1947), pp. 99–110.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 107–108 (my italics – G. G.).

*common origin*³⁹, proved to be prevalent! Let's reiterate this phrase: awareness of *common origin*. It is not about diminishing the significance of the consciousness, as if it can be reduced to a sentiment. Besides being a feeling, the consciousness implies, more or less, a rational parameter – even more so when this parameter vibrates when connected to a providential source of energy.

Along the time, this national factor consisting in the awareness/consciousness⁴⁰ of common origin acted in (positive) coordination with the *natural geographic factor* and so, together, they conquered the conjectural factor of the political stakes! What else, more profound, could mean the statement of a German scholar who, at the beginning of the 20th century, was looking at the Carpathian Mountains as the “spine of their [Romanians'] essence as people”⁴¹?! Or that of a French specialist in human geography: “Anywhere in the Balkans, no mass of people is more compact and less scattered than the 14 million Romanian speaking peasants, seemingly gathered on the slopes of a fortress – the Carpathians – up to the trenches of the Dniester, the Danube, and the Tisa”⁴²?! And finally, I have personally emphasized the exceptional ethnic function performed by “*nedei*” and folk fairs on the high plateaus of the Carpathian Mountains by means of stimulating a “perceptive pattern” with regard to the community of origin and allegiance among the participants arrived (even though in symbolic numbers) from all three Romanian provinces⁴³. In short, *the natural offerings worked in tandem with the will of the spirit!*...

Clearly, a national consciousness (provably *rational* in character) emerged at a certain moment in works by the agency of chroniclers and historians. Nevertheless, this rational national consciousness found itself confronted with *three* Romanian entities – large communities of people speaking the same language and sharing the same beliefs! Much too often we ignore that the idea of *unification* came about from separate perceptions of the parts involved! This idea appears first in the chroniclers' writings (Grigore Ureche, Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir), to be taken over by the great modern historians (Alexandru D. Xenopol, Dimitrie Onciul, Nicolae Iorga, Constantin C. Giurescu), until the contemporary ones

³⁹ This state of mind is ideally expressed by the native term “neam”, i.e. “kin group”. In current native rhetoric the phrase “*poporul român*” [the Romanian people] is substituted by “*neamul românesc*” [the Romanian *neam*].

⁴⁰ These two terms are congruent. Practically, they express the same state of mind as manifested at two levels: “awareness” is rather a diffuse sentiment proper to the mass of people, while “consciousness” is proper to an elite attached to the mass. The nation attains maturity when the two levels become solidary with one another.

⁴¹ In original: “das Rückgrat [...] für ihr Volkstum” (Hugo Grothe, *Zur Landeskunde von Rumänien. Kulturgeschichtliches u. Wirtschaftliches*. Halle a. S.: Gebauer-Schwetschke Druckerei und Verlag, 1907, p. 19).

⁴² Jacques Ancel, *Peuples et Nations des Balkans*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1926, p. 124. The demographic quantum of 14 million was taken by the French author from the available sources at that time.

⁴³ Gheorghiță Geană, “The Carpathian Folk Fairs and the Origins of National Consciousness among Romanians”, in: *Nationalities Papers*, 34 (1), 2006, pp. 91–110.

(Alexandru Zub, Ioan Aurel Pop, Dan Berindei...). The historians (who else but them to research people and their deeds from origins on?) were joined, through time, by representative militants from afflicted areas (Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki in Bukovina, Pantelimon Halippa in Bessarabia or, certainly, the leaders of the movement Școala Ardeleană in Transylvania), as well as scholars from different fields – Mihai Eminescu, Octavian Goga, Simion Mehedinți – who, even though not *real* historians, were engaged towards the affirmation of the self-consciousness of a nation of which themselves were members. It is because of this pleiad of great personalities that *the self-consciousness of the nation* takes shape at the highest degree. All of them, acting in the name of the Romanian people, have marked the transition from (in Hegelian terms, very suitable here again) *das Ansichsein* to *das Fürsichsein*, meaning from “being-in-itself” to “being-for-itself”.

The *voivodes* have been yet another active factor in reaching the apokatastasic ideal. The first one to always come to mind is Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave). Nevertheless, we ought not to take into consideration only military deeds or battles of the rulers. Great lovers of their land and people, our voivodes have built churches – pylons of unity – not only in their own principalities, but also in the neighboring ones. Stephen the Great had raised in Transylvania a church for the Vadul bishopric, and a second one on the Feleacu hill, near Cluj. While taking a good look at history, we see the Wallachian rulers performing similar deeds during their own reign. Constantin Brâncoveanu, for example, raises spiritual settlements in Făgăraș, Ocna Sibiului and Sâmbăta de Sus (a well sought after monastery even today). To mark the reconciliation after fighting each other in a war, Matei Basarab and Vasile Lupu build a monastery, each one of them in the other one's country: the former in Soveja, Vrancea (where Alecu Russo was going to discover the national folk poem *Miorița*, in 1846), and the latter in Stelea, near Târgoviște. There are many other exchanges between principalities stimulated by the common national consciousness. In 1699, for example, the metropolitan Antim Ivireanul sends Mihail Ștefan, one of his disciples in the craft of typography, to Alba Iulia, to print two clerical books for the orthodox Romanians from Transylvania. Around the same date, Constantin Brâncoveanu signs a charter according to which an annual donation of a substantial amount of money is offered to the Orthodox Metropolitan in Transylvania. It is Brâncoveanu again who makes numerous donations to the St. Nicholas church in Șcheii Brașovului. It is noticeable that most of the assistance is directed toward Transylvania, since the Romanians in that region suffered permanently and terribly of injustice. Anyway, we take note of the *exceptional spiritual facts that might have continuously eroded the separatist political conception* discussed by P. P. Panaitescu.

Accordingly, we understand that the *Church* has been a very important factor in pursuit of the Romanian apokatastasic ideal. From the position held by the Romanians on the European continent, the relationship between state and church needs to be considered differently than it is in the West, where the two institutions

have usually been rivals. Here, in the East, one cannot ignore a certain *power tandem* that functioned all through our history, starting with Burebista: the tandem of the *political leader* with the *religious leader*. The tandem paradigm starts in Antiquity (Burebista – Deceneu) and the Middle Ages (Ștefan cel Mare / Stephen the Great – Daniil Sihastrul / Daniil the Ermit), yet we can find examples in all the important events throughout our history: in the revolution of 1848, in the unification act of 1859, in the great reunification of 1918, as well as in many other occasions, the Church applied each time – with no claim to political power – the seal of the divine power in confirming the realizations of the terrestrial power. Not even under the communist regime did the Church cease to serve its people. The concessions made to the totalitarian regime will be judged accordingly in the great Beyond. But, the institution revealed its sacrifices (like the imprisoned priests) and did not abandon its ideal, while its steps back were taken only to be able to look forward!...⁴⁴

SUFFERING AND CLIMAX MOMENTS

The idea of apokatastasis leads us to take a look *à vol d'oiseau* over the moments of collapse as well as the lifting ones in the history of the Romanians. There have been a lot of both of them. The fragmentation (“slicing” in three provinces) of the Romanian political reality imposes a corresponding dispersed analysis. Thus, up until the formation of the Romanian modern state, each principality attended to its own separate apokatastasis. For example, it can be said that Moldova reached its climax under the reign of Stephen the Great, Wallachia under Mircea the Old, and Transylvania under Iancu of Hunedoara.

Yet, behind every moment of culmination there are many downfalls – in reality obstructions, frustrations, unfairness provoked by foreign rulers; here there are only a few of them, without other explanations, knowing that anyone with adequate knowledge of the history of the Romanians will understand the suffering inflicted to them by each one of the following phrases: *unio trium nationum* (1437), the instauration of the Phanariot regime (18th century), the Austro-Hungarian dualism (1867), the territorial violations around Bessarabia and Bukovina (1812,

⁴⁴ In this context, the Putna Monastery’s exceptional part needs to be emphasized. One could come here anytime, even during the communist regime, to take lessons of unconcealed patriotism. Situated in Northern Moldavia, the Monastery was founded (in 1871) by Stephen the Great, whose grave hosted here is a real point of pilgrimage. During a time when Bessarabia and Bukovina were forbidden themes in any public discourse (for avoiding the discontent of the unfriendly Soviet allied), at Putna the veil was always lifted to uncover the historical truth – in general, and in details. One of the authentic stories (told by the monks of the Monastery) in this unique environment was talking about some old man arrived from beyond the Prut who was confessing with tearful eyes upon entering here: “Thank God for helping me come to pray one more time to Stephen the Great’s grave! This has been my last wish, from now on I can die in peace!”. While their guiding tours, the monks used to tell the visitors: “During his reign, Stephen the Great built some fortresses on the Dniester’s bank. And do you know a reliable person who could make a house – or any other edifice – on a foreign territory?”.

1940) or, in the West, the tearing of Transylvania (1940). All of these vicissitudes and many more remind us of one of Hegel's reflections: "History is not the realm of happiness". Let's not forget though that it is precisely in moments of tribulation, of breaking down, that the apokatastasic ideal was measured against a large tribute of martyrs, most of them left, especially in parts of the Romanian space under foreign rule, anonymous. Their sacrifice is the foundation for the hopes in a good future!...

Regarding the astral moments – apogees – during the whole historical trajectory, they are only in the past, for now. The first such moment came about with Michael the Brave triumphantly entering Alba Iulia, then conquering Moldova, to issue, on July 6, 1600, the famous charter in which he proclaimed himself to be "ruler of Wallachia and Transylvania and of the entire country of Moldova"! When this news spread throughout Europe, the Romanian voivode started to be named "*Restitutor Daciae*"⁴⁵. The second uplifting moment happened in 1859, when Wallachia and Moldova got united. Even without Transylvania, the "little unification" has marked the Romanians' apokatastasic trajectory through a few very important characteristics: the unification has been irreversible, stable, and put the new state of Romania on the modernization track; it emphasized the Romanian diplomatic intelligence in the ability of taking advantage of the vulnerabilities of the plan elaborated by the big European powers with respect to the Romanian Principalities⁴⁶; it engraved in the collective memory of the masses the figure of Alexandru Ioan Cuza, the last ruler considered legendary among Romanians⁴⁷. Finally, the third moment of apogee in the apokatastasic trajectory of the Romanian people to date has been/still is December 1st, 1918. I have written "still is" because, after 1989, the date December 1st became the National Day of Romania. Why? One does not need sophisticated reasons to understand that, for Romanians, December 1st, 1918, meant regaining *de facto* the territory of Dacia Felix, the space of origin inhabited by their Daco-Roman forefathers⁴⁸. For this moment as well (just like for the other

⁴⁵ Cf. Adolf Armbruster, „Evoluția denumirii sensului de Dacia” [The Evolution of the Denomination of Dacia], in: *Studii. Revistă de istorie* [Studies: Journal of History], XXII, nr. 3, 1969, pp. 423–444.

⁴⁶ This fact was going to give rise to an enthusiasm of long duration in the Romanian culture. Thus, January 24, 1859 got consecrated as "Minerva's day among the Romanians" (Paul Anghel, *Popasuri între arme* [Resting Among Weapons]. București: Editura Militară, 1979, p. 68), while the year 1859 as "the year of wisdom" (Antonie Plămădeală, *Dascăli de cuget și simțire românească* [Teachers of Romanian Thinking and Feeling]. București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al B.O.R., 1981, pp. 325–331).

⁴⁷ How much loved by the people this first and only native ruler of Romania was is shown also, besides the stories about him, in the following ethnographic finding that I encountered in my own field research: in the plain villages of the Argeș and Teleorman counties, at summer memorials (*Moșii de vară*), when women consecrate the offerings, and before starting to invoke the names of their own ancestors or spouses, they do this invoking the ruler Cuza's name – that first offering is a bread curl and it is known as "*colacul lui Cuza*" [Cuza's bread curl].

⁴⁸ During the communist rule the national day was celebrated on August 23, in respect for the moment in the World War II (1944) when Romania ceased to fight against the Soviet Union and displayed the availability to accept the political system of this latter. Previously, the date of the festive

one in 1859), have been created extra-scientific but no less suggestive labels. Antonie Plămădeală (*op. cit.*, pp. 392–398) named 1918 “the year of joy”, while a well-known contemporary historian gave a chapter of his synthesis on the history of the Romanian people the title “*Romania Felix*” (Florin Constantiniu, *O istorie sinceră a poporului român* [A Honest History of the Romanian People], 4th ed., București: Univers Enciclopedic Gold, 2011, pp. 309–356).

As scarce as they have been, these moments of apogee keep high the hope for the final, definitive fulfilment.

UNDER THE SIGN OF THE PROVIDENCE

We re-iterate our initial question, in a new formulation: if the Romanian people is not already fulfilled, how can there be hope for a future fulfilment?

We are urged to listen to this liturgical call: “Raise up your hearts!” History has always offered miracles. For example: the peaceful re-unification of Germany after the conclusion – conventional at least – of the cold war between Eastern and Western Europe. Let’s not forget: the destiny of the Romanian people itself has been interpreted as being under the sign of the miraculous. In recent years, more and more manifestations in favor of the re-unification with Romania took place in Bessarabia – translated on this side of the Prut river as well. Most of the flag-bearers are young, namely beautiful and peaceful sowers of hope. Unfortunately, the politicians are wavering. We are wondering whether we deal, yet again, with an inconsistency between popular and official will (the latter manifesting itself a little too timidly towards the concept of “political correctness”, imported here by way of globalizing undercurrents)?

Anyway, *the idea of apokatastasis can be a paramount criterion in the analysis of the events and facts throughout our history – old and new*. For example, what if we could use this lens to interpret Romania’s acceptance in the European Union or its affiliation to NATO? But of course, such a question would open yet another discussion. So...

...To answer the question: “Can one hope for a future fulfilment?”, we will end the discussion by presenting two views – issued almost two centuries apart, yet actually circumscribed to the same mentality on history, while emanated from two Romanian brains whose genius fed from the vim of the autochthonous space matrix. The first one belongs to Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu who states in

day (May 10) was related to the history of monarchy. Today, in media, some voices invoke the cold weather of December and suggest the return for the national day to the season of spring. As a matter of fact, this is a way to push this problem into a trivial framework. One ignores that the people who gathered up together with enthusiasm at Alba Iulia on the 1st December of 1918 from all parts of Transylvania to proclaim the “unification with the country” were not afraid that they will be freezing to death! No doubt, therefore, the national day of Romanians should not be than the one that evokes the primordial paradisiac moment of their apokatastasis!...

Istoria Critică a Românilor: “Everything being relative, except for God, everything being good and evil, except for One, which alone reduces antagonisms to harmony, history tries hard to account for relationships between things under the Providence’s control, that is for the effects of physical [note the modern connotations:] and bio-sociologic laws brought to harmony by a super-law”⁴⁹.

In the same spirit, the other view is extracted from Mircea Vulcănescu’s crop of ideas. At the end of one of his writings on the War for the reunification of the nation, this thinker with a martyr vocation⁵⁰ continues the discussion about “Romanian luck” by stating that this particular luck is not to be understood as a random whim, as proposed by P. P. Carp (a politician in the epoch), but rather as a hidden resource that pushes all worldly arrangements toward the matrix of their true essence. And he ends with a statement about the Supreme Justice: “If we are to decipher yet a more profound face of the Romanian luck (...), one projected against the light of eternity, we can say that it seems to be an act of divine justice, Providence’s mercy for the sacrifices of this nation made for its reunification not just in this War, but for centuries and centuries; sacrifices which each one of us should honor with all our mind and deeds as one of the greatest miracles that we have been blessed to witness”⁵¹.

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⁴⁹ B. P. Hasdeu, *Istoria critică a românilor* [Critical History of Romanians], edited by Grigore Brâncuş and Manole Neagoe. Bucureşti: Editura Minerva, 1984 (orig. 1875), pp. 49–50. Without mentioning the title, this work has been appreciated as one “that, though incomplete, marked the beginning of critical investigation of Romanian history” (*Britannica*, 1992, in the article on Hasdeu, vol. 5, p. 737). In the same source of reference, Hasdeu (1836–1907) is generally presented as “scholar and archivist and a pioneer in Romanian language and historical studies” (*Ibidem*, p. 736). The most relevant proof of his erudition was the overwhelming project of an encyclopaedic dictionary of the Romanian language (*Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae*), stopped at the fourth volume, the letter B.

⁵⁰ Sociologist, economist, theologian and philosopher, colleague of generation with Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran, Constantin Noica – Mircea Vulcănescu died in a communist prison in 1952, at the age of 48.

⁵¹ Mircea Vulcănescu, *Războiul pentru întregirea neamului & Dimensiunea românească a existenţei* [The War for the Fulfilment of People & Romanian Dimension of Existence], Preface by Gheorghiţă Geană. Bucureşti: Criterion Publishing, 2002, p. 101.

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DENTAL MACROWEAR AS MARKER OF DIET:
CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SKELETAL SAMPLE FROM
THE 17TH CENTURY NECROPOLIS OF IAȘI
(IAȘI COUNTY, ROMANIA)

OZANA-MARIA PETRARU¹, VASILICA-MONICA GROZA¹,
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Abstract. Dental macrowear is a process of enamel tissue loss on the occlusal surfaces of teeth. The loss of dental tissue in bioarchaeological context is often connected with lifestyles, habits, diet and food preparation techniques. Dental wear increases with age, differ between sexes and by diet. 142 M2 molar teeth with dentine exposure, from a 17th century necropolis of Iași (Iași County, Romania), were analysed. The degree of dental wear was evaluated, through ordinal methods (e.g. Scott's method for recording occlusal molar wear), quantitative methods (computer-based image system) and by scanning electron microscopy (SEM) technique. The percentages of dentine exposure (PDE) recorded on the M2 molars suggest that the macrowear is sex related affecting both male and female individuals during growth but with a different intensity. Males are more affected by the dental wear than females. Micromorphological features in loss of tooth substances (dentine, enamel prisms, dentinal tubules) confirm the dental wear at a microscopic level and suggest the advanced macrowear. Concerning the dental wear as a marker of the paleodiet, further research is required based on micromorphological analysis of the enamel through SEM.

Keywords: macrowear, dentine, M2 tooth, 17th century necropolis.

INTRODUCTION

Dental macrowear is a process of the overall enamel tissue loss on the occlusal surfaces of teeth and has been used in attempts to characterize diet (Smith 1984; White *et al.* 2011). Visible at a low magnification (e.g. under a stereomicroscope) or visible to the naked eye (Lucas & Omar 2011), dental macrowear is, unlike

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microware, a cumulative process which takes place over an individual's life (Fiorenza *et al.* 2018) and describes well-defined and polished occlusal surfaces (Knight-Sadler & Fiorenza 2017). It differs from dental microwear, which is visible only under a high magnification power of the microscope (Fiorenza *et al.* 2018), usually under a scanning electronic microscope (SEM). Dental microwear refers to the microscopic features of wear: striae, scratches, punctures and pits (Soltysiak 2011) seen in the enamel and dentine on the occlusal surfaces of teeth (White *et al.* 2011) which reflects the mechanical properties of food and abrasives consumed in the weeks or months before death (Scott & Halcrow 2017).

The complex interactions between dietary habits and biomechanics during chewing are the main factors which influences the macrowear rates and dentine exposure (Gorka *et al.* 2016). Dental wear can be classified into different types such as mechanical wear (abrasion, attrition, abfraction) and chemical wear (erosion) caused by acidic agents (Levrini *et al.* 2014). All these types of dental wear mentioned above are included in the noncarious cervical lesions (NCCs) category (Kieser *et al.* 2001; Michael *et al.* 2009; Levrini *et al.* 2014).

Abrasion is caused by the interaction between teeth and exogenous abrasive objects and substances (Dawson & Brown 2013) and can continue until the crown is completely worn away. These abrasive particles can be found in different forms: dietary grit, stone implements, animal hide and meat (Clement 2008; Levrini *et al.* 2014). Caused by the small movements of teeth against each other during chewing and clenching of the jaws, attrition can occur on the contact points between opposing and neighbouring teeth (Clement 2008). Abfraction occurs due to forces associated with mastication, swallowing, malocclusion (Michael *et al.* 2009). It manifests itself at the cervical margin of the teeth (above the cemento-enamel junction) with microfractures and microstructural loss (Levrini *et al.* 2014). Erosion is the chemical dissolution of the tooth surface caused by external and internal acids and is characterized by a uniform loss of tooth surface (Kieser *et al.* 2001; Gorka 2011).

The loss of dental tissue in bioarchaeological context is often connected with lifestyles, habits, diet, and food preparation techniques (Dawson & Brown 2013). Dental wear increases with age (Molnar 1971; Brothwell 1981), can vary over time in population (Kaifu 1999), can differ between sexes and can also differ by diet, generating several patterns and degree of wear (Lev-Tov Chattah & Smith 2006; Kaidonis 2008; Scott *et al.* 2013).

The aim of this paper is to evaluate the degree of dental wear, in the skeletal series belonging to the 17th century necropolis from Iași, through ordinal methods (e.g. Scott's method for recording occlusal molar wear), quantitative methods (computer-based image system) and by scanning electron microscopy (SEM) technique.

The "Curtea Domnească" necropolis was discovered in 2008 during the rescue archaeological excavations from the *Palas Mall* Complex in Iași (Iași County, Romania). From the necropolis were recovered 111 skeletons (80 males and

31 females) found in 60 individual and collective burial tombs (Groza *et al.* 2012). Estimation of age at death and sex was done using the methods and techniques recommended by Bruzek (2002), Schmitt (2005), and White & Folkens (2000). The anthropometric and conformational study of each skeleton has been completed (Groza *et al.* 2012) with the techniques of Martin & Saller (1956-1966).

The second molar was chosen for the macrowear analysis. In the studies of dental, the first and third molars are avoided because M1 has a variable morphology, usually with flattened cusps and unclear pattern, and M3 does not appear constantly – congenitally missing (Moreno-Gómez 2013; Scott 2008).

MATERIAL AND METHODS

In the present study, 234 M2 molar teeth belonging to 77 skeletons, found in the “Curtea Domnească” necropolis of Iași, were analysed. Only teeth with dentin exposure were considered (N*), because the teeth with very light enamel wear, without dentine exposed, could not be recorded by the microwear methods applied (Table 1).

Table 1

Selected teeth from “Curtea Domnească” necropolis (N – total number of molars; N* – number of examined molars with dentine exposure).

Sex	Molar tooth M2	N	N*
Males	Right inferior	57	37
	Left inferior	47	31
	Right superior	41	26
	Left superior	38	21
Females	Right inferior	16	10
	Left inferior	12	6
	Right superior	12	6
	Left superior	11	5

Analysis of dental macrowear

Digital images of occlusal surfaces were recorded using a Carl Zeiss Stemi 2000-C stereo microscope with a Canon Power Shot G9 attached. The images (1223 x 922 pixels) were processed and calibrated (in mm) using ImageJ software (Abramoff *et al.* 2004). Total occlusal crown area (TOA, mm²) and the total dentine exposure area (ADE, mm²) were recorded by outlining their perimeters (Fig.1). At least 30 points for the crown outline and a similar point density for the dentine exposure perimeters were used (Gorka *et al.* 2016). The percentage of dentine exposure (PDE %) has been evaluated for each M2 molar: $PDE = ADE \times 100 / TOA$ (Galbany *et al.* 2011; Percher *et al.* 2017). The analysis of variance (ANOVA) for individual PDE and pairwise differences using Tukey's honesty significant difference (HDS) test were made. Descriptive statistics and comparative statistics were made with PAST (Paleontological Statistics) 2.17 (Hammer *et al.* 2001).

Macroware scoring

Macroware score is based upon the loss of enamel and dentine exposure on the occlusal surface of the tooth. The technique requires that the occlusal surface is divided into four equal quadrants (Scott 1979). Each quadrant receives a score from 1-10, the sum of the quadrants is the score for the molar with values between 4 and 40 (Schmidt 2010).

SEM examination

The teeth were prepared for scanning electronic microscopy following the next steps: contaminants were removed from the dental surface using ethanol and cotton wool (Mahoney 2006) and an ultrasonic bath was applied in *amrc* DG+1 supersonic cleaner. Each molar was mounted on an aluminium stub and placed into a Sputter Coating Unit EMS 550X to receive a 30 nm layer of gold. Digitized micrographs were taken on the occlusal surface using a scanning electronic microscope (SEM) Tescan Vega II SBH at an acceleration voltage of 30 kV.

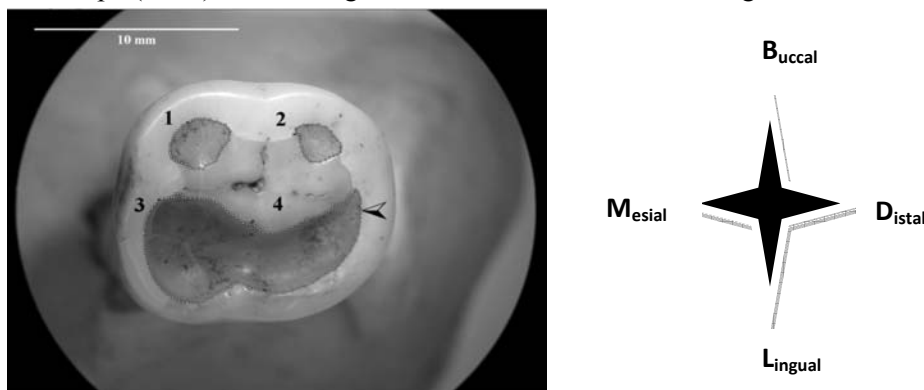


Fig. 1. Occlusal view showing changes in the surface of the M₂ molar tooth: solid outline delineates dentine exposed regions (arrow): 1 – paraconid; 2 – metaconid; 3 – protoconid; 4 – hypoconid.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

The results of the dental macrowear analysis are presented in Table 2 and Figures 2-4. Significant increase of macrowear in M2 samples with age ($F_a=13.36$; $p<0.001$) shows differences in the percent of the enamel loss process during growth. The loss of enamel affects both male and female individuals (Table 2). When the age-ranges were pooled, the rates of PDE differ between sexes ($F_s=46.17$; $p<0.001$). Significant PDE values were recorded with age in males ($F_m=11.43$; $p<0.001$) but not in females ($F_w=0.4943$; $p=0.688$). Dental wear values are expressed in percent of dentine exposure (total dentine exposure/total crown area*100). One-way ANOVA was performed on ranked data (significant differences at $p<0.05$).

Table 2

Summary statistics of the PDE by sex and age (N – number of examined molars; SD – standard deviation; SE – standard error; Min – Minimum; Max – Maximum; CV – coefficient of variation)

Type of division		N	Mean (mm ²)	SD	SE	Min (mm ²)	Max (mm ²)	CV
Sex	Males	115	12.71289	14.10236	1.315052	0.1012168	65.23977	110.9296
	Females	27	3.088234	3.839579	0.7389273	0.09210857	14.75707	124.3293
F _s =46.17; p<0.001								
Age								
16-25		14	1.468947	1.846887	0.4936013	0.09210857	5.762189	125.7286
25-35		27	6.723457	9.764465	1.879172	0.1012168	33.76906	145.2298
35-45		58	9.715775	9.751053	1.291559	0.2132621	35.23531	100.3631
45-55		37	16.33316	18.05033	2.967456	0.2673608	65.23977	110.5134
>55		6	30.75005	5.400011	2.204545	21.27754	35.06165	17.56098
F _a =13.36; p<0.001								
Sex by age: Males								
16-25		6	2.277307	2.556969	1.043878	0.2266788	5.762189	112.2804
25-35		28	6.723457	9.764465	1.879172	0.1012168	33.76906	145.2298
35-45		48	11.15134	9.980857	1.440613	0.2132621	35.23531	89.50363
45-55		27	20.08785	19.96778	3.916003	0.3157722	65.23977	99.40226
>50		6	30.75005	5.400011	2.204545	21.27754	35.06165	17.56098
F _m =11.43; p<0.001								
Sex by age: Females								
16-25		8	0.862678	0.8273233	0.292503	0.09210857	2.680962	95.90175
25-35		5	2.275062	1.395768	0.6242064	0.6399752	3.986159	61.35078
35-45		7	4.365482	4.975007	1.880376	0.3431216	12.35035	113.9624
45-55		7	4.935317	4.898654	1.851517	0.2673608	14.75707	99.25713
F _w =0.4943; p=0.688								

Figure 2 is a scatterplot of the macrowear score data (Scott's method) and the percent of dentine exposure of each molar in women, as well as in men (Fig. 3). There is a statistically significant positive correlation between the macrowear score and the PDE ($p<0.01$). The Pearson coefficient shows a strong correlation between the scoring wear technique and the quantitative computer-based method ($r=0.85$ in females and $r=0.88$ in males). Coefficient of determination R^2 shows that the macrowear score and the PDE values are 73% correlated in females ($R^2=0.73$) and 78% in males ($R^2=0.78$).

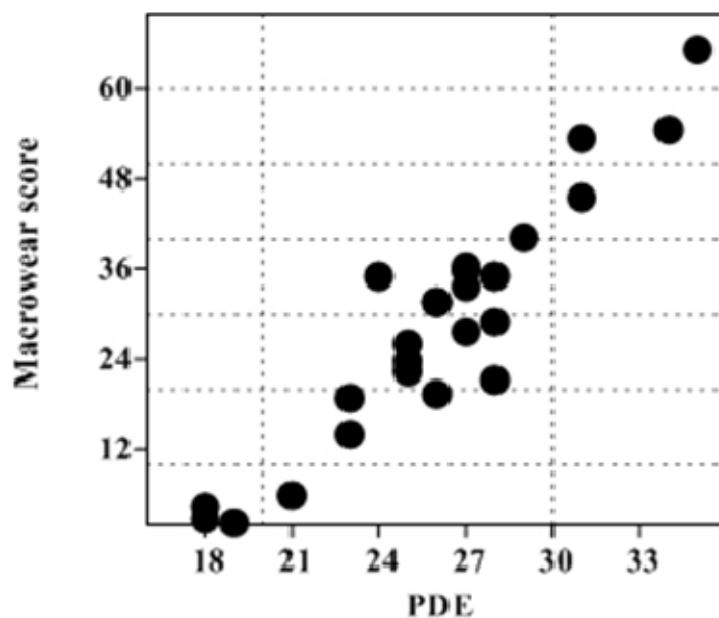


Fig. 2. Scatterplot of macrowear scores and percentage of dentine exposure (PDE) in females ($y = 1.632x - 27.69$).

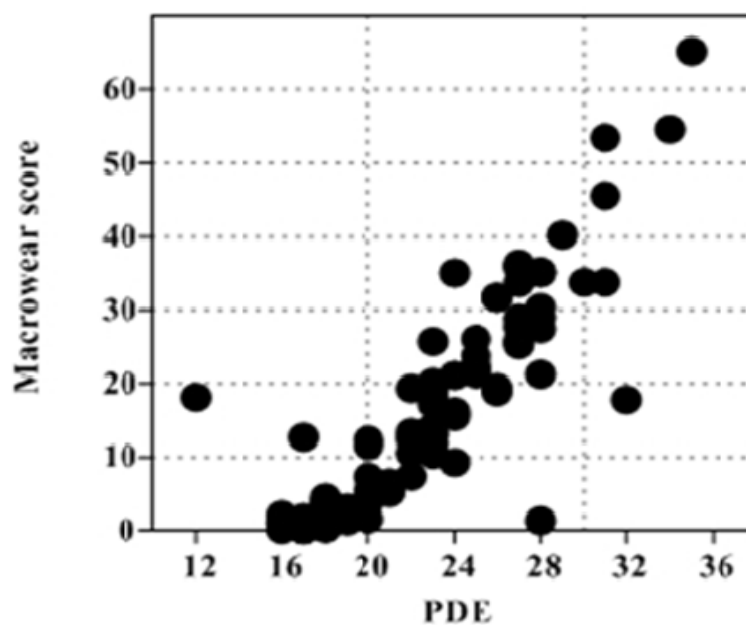


Fig. 3. Scatterplot of macrowear scores and percentage of dentine exposure (PDE) in males ($y = 2.668x - 44.84$).

PDE values are higher in males for recorded age-ranges. Median PDE was higher in males than females especially in the older age categories (25-35 years old, 35-45 years old, and 45-55 years old) (Fig. 4). Tukey's HDS ($p < 0.05$) within age-ranges indicate that the individuals in the age range of 16-25 years old have nearly the same PDE values. The median PDE values are increasing in both sexes with age range.

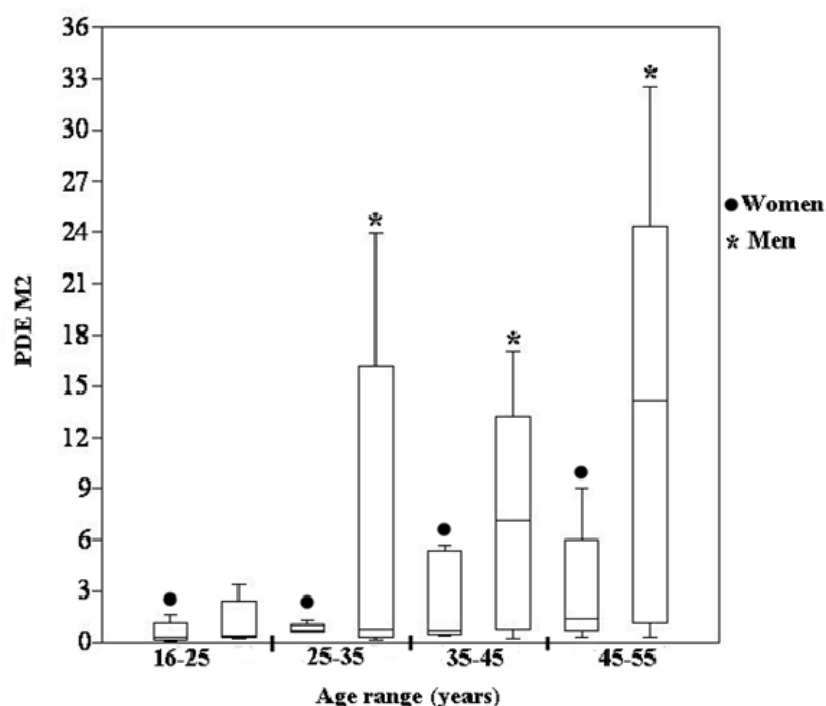


Fig. 4. Box and whiskers plots of PDE with age-ranges by sex. Boxes enclose 25%-75% percentile values, the median is indicated with a horizontal bar and whiskers are minimum and maximum values for each group.

To confirm the advanced degree of dental macrowear on occlusal surfaces, the scanning electron microscopy (SEM) technique was required. SEM results showed that the basic structural unit (e.g. enamel prism/rod) has a fish scales appearance delineating the dentine exposure zones (Fig. 5A). The advanced lesions showed clear dentine exposure with remains of the smear layer on the surface (Fig. 5B). The diameter of the dentinal tubules varies, as they are wider near the pulp (3-4 μm) and narrower in the peripheral area (mean diameter of 1.7 μm) (Carda & Peydro, 2006). Biometric analysis revealed a mean diameter of the dentinal tubules of 2.95 μm . According to Lopes and colleagues (2009), the tubules are specific to the middle dentin, which means the macrowear was advanced (Fig. 5C).

While macrowear have been described, this section aims to further interpret diet from this perspective. The results show that the M2 molar wear scores significantly differ by sex, which suggest that macrowear could be associated with dietary differences. Of course, other non-diet related factors could be involved in producing the tooth substance loss more in males than in females, such as using teeth for holding tools. Many factors (e.g. abrasive diet, acidic foods, occupation) together could have contributed to loss of enamel, more substantial in men. We can assume that the consuming a less abrasive and erosive diet by females could be also correlated with differences in food preparation techniques.

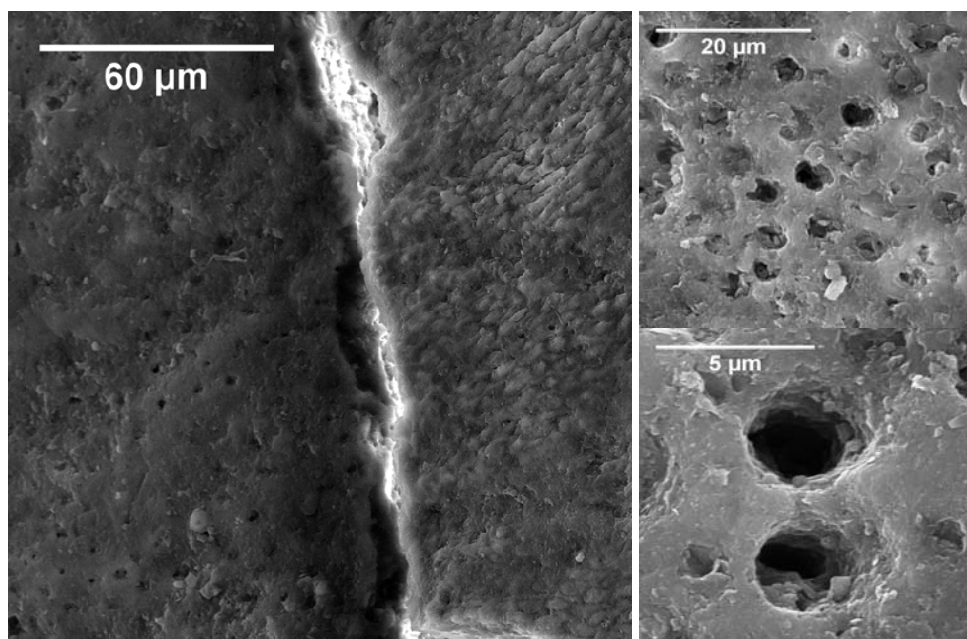


Fig. 5. SEM photomicrographs of the occlusal surface of M² male molar: general view (A, left); clear dentine exposure with remains of the smear layer on the surface (B, top-right); detail of dentinal tubules (C, bottom right).

CONCLUSIONS

In the skeletal sample from the 17th century necropolis of Iași (Iași County, Romania), the percentages of dentin exposure (PDE) recorded on the M2 molars suggest that the macrowear is sex related affecting both male and female individuals but with a different intensity. Males are more affected by the dental wear than females. The percent of the enamel loss increases with age especially in the older age categories but not with the same rate in the younger ones. The scoring method for recording wear degree was strong correlated with the computer-based

image analysis method, although image analysis is more reliable. Micromorphological features of loss of tooth substances (dentine, enamel prisms, dentinal tubules) confirm the dental wear at a microscopic level and suggest the advanced macrowear.

The significant differences in the M2 molar wear scores, characterizing the skeletal sample from the 17th century necropolis of Iași, is probably mainly associated with the consumption of a differentiated diet, more abrasive and erosive in males than in females.

Concerning the dental wear as a marker of the paleodiet, further research is required based on micromorphological analysis of the enamel and dentine (microwear analysis) through scanning electronic microscopy and computer-based image analysis.

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MEDIEVAL NECROPOLIS OF ARONEANU MONASTERY (IAȘI COUNTY, ROMANIA): SKELETONS OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

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Abstract. In this paper, the authors present a preliminary bio-anthropological analysis concerning the skeletons discovered in the medieval necropolis of Aroneanu Monastery in Iași (Iași County, Romania). The necropolis is dating from the 16th-19th centuries, and it was discovered in 2014. This study focuses only on skeletons of children and adolescents, representing about 24% of all recovered. The skeletal sample is described in terms of frequency, and in terms of the morphology and size of the young individuals.

Keywords: paleoanthropology, necropolis, 16th-19th centuries, Aroneanu Monastery, children and adolescents.

INTRODUCTION

The archaeological researches conducted in 2014 at the Aroneanu Monastery in Iași, as part of a rehabilitation project for this building, led to the discovery of a necropolis with 79 inhumation skeletons; they are coming from individual, double tombs and from reburials. The bones were discovered both within the perimeter corresponding to the interior and the outside of Aroneanu Monastery.

The excavators (Dr. Stela Cheptea, and her collaborators at the Centre for European History and Civilization within the Iași Branch of the Romanian Academy), indicate that the necropolis was used between the first half of the 16th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Aroneanu Monastery, also known in medieval documents as “the Monastery of Aron Vodă”, “St. Nicholas Monastery of Iași” or “the Greek Monastery of the Earthly St. Nicholas”, was built in 1594 by Aron Vodă in the north-eastern part of Iași. The greed of the Greek monks and the poor administration repeatedly led the monastery complex to ruins. Nowadays, from the old monastery complex, only the church of St. Nicholas remained, which

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was restored in 1907 and became the parish church of the Aroneanu village (Iași County) (Bădărău and Caproșu 2007).

From a demographic point of view, the medieval Iasi has registered great progresses, but also some moments of release, produced by pestilence and devastating attacks of the invasions, leading to the decrease of the number of inhabitants (Cihodaru *et al.* 1980).

The present paper is a preliminary paleoanthropological report concerning the medieval necropolis of Aroneanu Monastery in Iași (Iași County, Romania), and focused on describing the skeletons of children and adolescents.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The osteological sample consists of 79 skeletons coming from both inhumation tombs and reburials, exhumed in 2014 from the medieval necropolis (16th-19th centuries) of the Aroneanu Monastery in Iași. In the present paper we describe the skeletons with belonging to the children and the adolescents. The skeletons that have been marked with M come from inhumation tombs and those with R from reburials.

The study of the osteological sample was preceded by a process of marking and bone restoration to allow the morphoscopic analysis in order to estimate the age and sex. To estimate the age at death and sex for the subjects over 18 years old, we used the methods, criteria and techniques recommended by Ferembach *et al.* (1979), Ubelaker (1979), Brothwell (1981), Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994), Bruzek (2002), Walrath *et al.* (2004), Schmitt (2005). As concerns the subadults (*infans I*, *infans II* and *juvenis*), the age at death was estimated based on the primary teeth eruption, the permanent teeth eruption, the dental buds' stages of development, the epiphyses fusion with the respective diaphyses and the fusion of the epiphyseal discs with vertebrae, according to the methodologies suggested by Mareš (1970), Moorrees *et al.* (1963), Trotter and Peterson (1969), Fazekas and Kosa (1978), Ubelaker (1979), Schaefer *et al.* (2009). The anthropometric and conformational analyse was based on the Martin and Saller techniques (1956-1966), whereas for size evaluation we used the dimorphic scales of Alexeev and Debeț (1964). Morphoscopic observations were recorded and analyzed based on the methods suggested by Eickstedt (1934) and Olivier (1969). Stature was calculated based on the dimensions of upper member long bones (humerus, radius, ulna) and lower member long bones (femur, tibia, and fibula), using the dimensional scales proposed by Manouvrier (1893), Bach (1965), Breitinger (1938), Trotter and Glessner (1952).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Of the total of 79 skeletons coming from the Aroneanu Monastery in Iași (16th-19th centuries), 17 belonged to children (0-14 years), two to adolescents

(one male and one female), nine to adults (four males and five females), 47 to matures (36 males and 11 females) and only four to elderly (one male and three females). The skeleton frequency of the children and adolescents in the studied series, of about 24%, is similar to those recorded in other necropolis of medieval Iași, such as that of the St. Mary Catholic Church of 15th-19th centuries (about 24%) (Groza *et al.* 2013) or the St. Nicholas-Chiuchi Church of 16th-18th centuries (about 26%) (Simalcsik *et al.* 2012). If the comparison is made with other synchronous necropolis from medieval Moldova, then the frequency of the children and adolescents from the sample of Aroneanu Monastery is smaller than those from Răchiteni – 16th-17th centuries (about 36%) (Miu *et al.* 2002), Siret – 17th century (49%) (Botezatu *et al.* 2004) and Brad – 17th-18th centuries (51.5%) (Botezatu and Cantemir 1997).

In the present paper, we describe 19 skeletons, mainly from morphometric point of view: 17 belonged to the children (0-14 years old) and two belonged to the adolescents (14-20 years: one female and one male). Osteometrical measurements are included in Tables 1-2. We mention that no osteopathies, abnormalities or odontopathies were identified in the sample of the 19 skeletons belonging to children and adolescent.

Table 1
Skull measurements (in mm) in skeleton M5 A (female, 18-20 years)

Martin No.	Dimension/Index*	Value
1	G-op	168
8	Eu-eu	141
9	Ft-ft	96
10	Co-co	116
12	Ast-ast	108
20	Po-b	110
45	Zy-zy	124
47	N-gn	99
48	N-pr	56.5
51	Mf-ek	36
52	Height of the orbit	35.5
54	Al-al	24.5
55	N-ns	40.5
63	Enm2-enm2	34.5
65	Kdl.-kdl.	114
66	Go-go	94
68	Depth of the mandible	67
69(1)	Height at the g.m. level	25
69(3)	Thickness at the g.m. level	9
8/1	Cranial index	83.92

(continuare table 1)

20/1	Auricular-long. index	65.47
20/8	Auricular-transv. index	78.01
9/10	Frontal-transversal index	82.75
9/8	Frontal-parietal index	68.08
12/8	Parietal-occipital index	76.59
47/45	Total facial index	79.83
48/45	Facial superior index	45.56
52/51	Orbitary index	98.61
54/55	Nasal index	60.49
45/8	Cranial-facial transv. index	87.94
69(3)/69(1)	Mandibular robustness index	36

* According to Martin and Saller (1956–1966).

Skeleton M5 (A), well preserved, belonged to an adolescent female of 18-20 years old (the cranial sutures are completely open, the third molars are not erupted).

The skull, almost completely restored (Fig.1 a-b), has a brachycranic conformation (8/1: 83.92 i.u.), hypsicranic (20/1: 65.47 i.u.) and tapeinocranic (20/8: 78.01 i.u.), with a metriometope forehead (9/8: 68.08 i.u.) and middle-sized occipital, maximum average width (8: 141 mm) and a wide forehead (9: 96 mm); as morphoscopic aspects, we notice the sphenoid shape of the skullcap in normaverticilis and the “house” shape in normaoccipitalis, the moderate development of the glabella (degree I→II), the moderately curved occipital also being associated with an external occipital protuberance of IInd degree, the development of the mastoid apophyses –Ist degree, and the supramastoidian outline.

The face is narrow (46: 125 mm) and short (48: 56.50 mm; 47: 99 mm), hypereuriprosopic (47/45: 79.83 i.u.) and eurenene, respectively (48/45: 45.56 i.u.); the orbits, with a small size (51: 36 mm; 52: 35.50 mm), are hypsiconch (52/51: 98.61 i.u.), slightly rectangular; the very short (55: 40.50 mm) and medium wide nose (54: 24.50 mm) is hyperchamerine (54/55: 60.49 i.u.), with nasal spine of IInd degree and antropine pyriform aperture; the canine fossae are superficial (Ist degree), with narrow malar bones; the palate, of very low depth (62: 35.00 mm), is narrow (63: 34.50 mm), brachystaphyline (63/62: 98.57 i.u.), with a paraboloidal dental arch and low abrasion degree of the teeth (Ist degree), slightly more pronounced for the molars (IInd degree).

The mandible, of low height and thickness (69₍₁₎: 25 mm, 69₍₃₎: 9 mm), appears moderately robust (69₍₃₎/69₍₁₎: 36.00 i.u.), with a button-shaped mental protuberance and slightly flared gonions; the dentition is represented by the six molars, premolars 1 and 2 (right), the rest of the teeth being lost post-mortem.

In *the postcranial skeleton*, most of the long bones are present, the astragals, the calcanei, the right hip bone – incomplete, the clavicles, the breastbone, the shoulder blades – incomplete, the spine, 18 fragments of ribs, the phalanges, the metacarpals and the metatarsals. The humeri, based on their diameters, are eurybrachic

(right – 82.35 i.u.; left – 84.84 i.u.), the femurs are flattened (slightly asymmetric: right – 84.00 i.u.; left – 82.35 i.u.), with pronounced pilaster (right – 106.97 i.u.; left – 106.97 i.u.), the tibias are eurycnemic (right tibia – 80.00 i.u., left tibia – 79.59 i.u.). *The stature* is below average (152.61 cm).

Skeleton M5 (D) belongs to a 4-5 years old child (*infans I*) of indeterminable sex. The skeleton is incomplete and fragmented due to taphonomic causes. From *the skull skeleton* we recovered the right parietal bone and a fragment from the occipital bone (Fig. 2a) and from *the postcranial skeleton* only the right tibia was recovered (diaphysis length – 172 mm) (Fig. 2b).

Skeleton M7 is poorly preserved, belonged to amale adolescent of 16-18 years old (*juvenis*).

The skull is fragmented and incomplete for a biometric study. From *the neurocranium* we recovered fragments of the temporal bones, temporal squamae, a fragment of the frontal bone and three fragments of the occipital bone, while from the facial region we only had the upper jaw available for study (incomplete) (Fig. 3). *The dentition* from the jaw – six teeth in alveoli, with no caries, and moderate dental abrasion, on average (1st degree).

Postcranial skeleton (incomplete and fragmented due to taphonomic causes) is gracile, with a poorly marked muscular insertion surface. The femurs are eurymeric (right femur – 89.65 i.u.; left femur – 87.93 i.u.), with pilaster (right – 116.30 i.u.; left – 116.66 i.u.), with third trochanter and subtrochanteric ridge in the insertion area of the thigh muscles. The tibias are mesocnemic (right – 68.33 i.u.; left – 67.79 i.u.), without additional joint surfaces with the talus bones. The humeri belong to the eurybrachic type (right – 95 i.u.; left – 93.02 i.u.) with pronounced deltoidian surface.

The stature, calculated from the length of the bones of the upper and lower limbs, indicates a value of 170.56 cm, which on the masculine scale means a tall stature, at the lower limit of the category.

Skeleton M12 (C) – child of approximately 10 years of age (*infans II*), indeterminable sex. *The cranial skeleton* is missing from the osteological inventory (destroyed by anthropic causes) and the postcranial skeleton is represented only by the left femur (diaphysis length – 290 mm), the age at death being estimated based on its size (Fig. 4).

Skeleton M12 (D) – child, approximately 6 months old (*infans I*), indeterminable sex. From *the postcranial skeleton* we recovered the femurs (diaphysis length right femur – 114 mm; diaphysis length left femur – 114.5 mm) and right humerus (diaphysis length – 83 mm) (Fig. 5).

Skeleton M17 (B) belongs to a child of approximately 14 years of age (*infans II*), indeterminable sex. *The cranial skeleton* is fragmented due to anthropic factors. There are fragments from the frontal, parietal, occipital bones and a fragment of the upper jaw (Fig. 6). *The postcranial skeleton* is incomplete, represented by: right radius and cubitus (the lower epiphyses are missing), fragments from the ribs, vertebrae, phalanges, carpals, metacarpals, right femur (incomplete), tibias (diaphysis

length right tibia – 270 mm; diaphysis length left tibia – 268 mm) and the right coxal bone. The age at death was estimated based on the dental eruption stage and the size of the tibias.

Skeleton M29 (D) belongs to a child of approximately 14 years old (*infans II*), the sex couldn't be established. From *the cranial skeleton* we only recovered the frontal bone (Fig. 7) and *the postcranial skeleton* is represented by the right tibia (diaphysis length – 270 mm), a fragment from the left fibula and the right humerus (diaphysis length – 230 mm). Due to the high fragility of the bones, biometric data sampling was performed *in situ*.

Skeleton M29 (F) is incomplete and fragmented, it belonged to a child. *The postcranial segment* is missing and from *the cranial skeleton* we recovered only two fragments from the frontal bone, fragments from the parietal and temporal bones, as well as a fragment from the upper jaw (Fig. 8). Based on the development of the deciduous teeth, we can estimate *the age* of this child at approximately 4 years old (*infans I*).

Skeleton R1 (C) – child, approximately 5 years old (*infans I*), indeterminable sex.

From *the cranial skeleton* we recovered fragments from the frontal bone, fragments from the parietal bones, fragments from the occipital bone, the right temporal squama, the left malar bone, the incomplete upper jaw and a fragment of the mandible (Fig. 9a).

Postcranial skeleton is represented by a left femur (diaphysis length – 208 mm) (Fig. 9b) and a rib. The age was determined based on the development of the deciduous teeth (incomplete) and the final first molar present on the upper jaw and on the mandible, as well as based on the length of the femur diaphysis.

Skeleton R1 (D) – child, approximately 11 years old (*infans II*), of indeterminable sex. *The cranial skeleton* is missing from the osteological inventory. From *the postcranial skeleton* we recovered: the femur diaphyses (diaphysis length of the right femur – 295 mm; diaphysis length of the left femur – 294 mm) (Fig. 10).

Skeleton R2 – from this child skeleton (*infans II*; 13-14 years old, indeterminable as sex) we recovered fragments from *the skull*: the frontal bone (incomplete), the parietal bones, the temporal squamae, the occipital bone, the left malar bone (Fig. 11), the left half of the upper jaw (teeth present in the alveoli – molars 1 and 2) (Fig. 12). *Postcranial segment* is represented by: the left femur (length – 310 mm), the left tibia (length – 262 mm), the left fibula (length – 257 mm), the right humerus (length – 210 mm), the cubitus bones (right cubitus length – 167 mm; left cubitus length – 168 mm), the right radius (length – 166 mm), fragments from the ribs and the vertebrae.

Skeleton R3 (A) is incomplete and damaged. By the teeth development stage and the length of the long bones, we can specify that the age of this subject was 24 months (*infans I*).

Cranial skeleton is represented by the right temporal squama, the right half of the upper jaw and the mandible (incomplete) (Fig. 14a). *The deciduous teeth* are represented by: upper molars 1 and 2 – right arcade; lower molars 1 and 2 – left

arcade, lower molar 2 – right arcade. From *the postcranial skeleton* we recovered the femurs (incomplete), the tibias (diaphysis length right tibia – 124 mm; diaphysis length left tibia – 124.5 mm) (Fig. 14b) and the right shoulder blade.

Skeleton R3 (B) – belongs to a child of approximately 5 years old (*infans I*), indeterminable sex. From the skull we recovered just the frontal bone, the right temporal squama and the mandible (Fig. 13). The age was determined based on the development of the deciduous teeth (incomplete) and the final first molar. *The postcranial skeleton* is missing from the osteological inventory.

Skeleton R4 (A) – child, approximately 3 years old (*infans I*), of indeterminable sex. From this skeleton we recovered only the frontal bone (Fig. 15a) and a fragment of the left femur (Fig. 15b).

Skeleton R4 (B) – child, approximately 5 years old (*infans I*), indeterminable sex. *The cranial skeleton* is missing from the osteological inventory (destroyed due to anthropic causes). From *the postcranial skeleton* we recovered: the right femur (diaphysis length – 207 mm) (Fig. 16a), the left tibia (diaphysis length – 163.5 mm) and the right tibia (incomplete) (Fig. 16b).

Skeleton R5 – child, approximately 7 years old (*infans I*), indeterminable as sex. *The cranial skeleton* is represented by the frontal bone (incomplete), two fragments from the parietal bone, the right temporal squama and the occipital bone (Fig. 17a). From *the postcranial skeleton* we recovered the right tibia (diaphysis length – 185 mm) (Fig. 17b) and the right cubitus (diaphysis length – 142 mm).

Skeleton R7 belongs to a child of approximately 3 years old (*infans I*), of indeterminable sex. *The cranial segment* is missing from the osteological inventory and from *the postcranial segment* we only recovered the left femur (diaphysis length – 183 mm) (Fig. 18).

Skeleton R9 (C) – child, approximately 12 months old (*infans I*), indeterminable sex. From this skeleton we recovered only a fragment of the frontal bone, two fragments of the parietal bones and the left incomplete humerus (diaphysis length – 102 mm) (Fig. 19).

Skeleton R9 (D) – child, approximately 5-6 months old (*infans I*), indeterminable sex. The age was estimated based on the right humerus diaphysis length (94 mm).

Table 2
Measurements of long bones

Skeleton	Dimension	Humerus	Radius	Cubitus	Femur	Tibia
		Maximum length	Maximum length	Maximum length	Maximum length	Maximum length
M5 (D) 4-5 years	right	-	-	-	-	172
	left	-	-	-	-	-
M12 (C) 10 years	right	-	-	-	-	-
	left	-	-	-	290	-
M12 (D) 6 months	right	83	-	-	114	-
	left	-	-	-	114.5	-

(continuare Table 2)

M17 (B) 14 years	right	-	-	-	-	270
	left	-	-	-	-	268
M29 (D) 14 years	right	230	-	-	-	270
	left	-	-	-	-	-
M29 (F) 4 years	right	-	-	-	-	-
	left	-	-	-	-	-
R1 (C) 5 years	right	-	-	-	-	-
	left	-	-	-	-	-
R1 (D) 11 years	right	-	-	-	295	-
	left	-	-	-	294	262
R2 13-14 years	right	210	168	167.5	-	-
	left	-	-	167	310	257
R3 (A) 24 months	right	-	-	-	-	124
	left	-	-	-	-	124.5
R3 (B) 5 years	right	-	-	-	-	-
	left	-	-	-	-	-
R4 (A) 3 years	right	-	-	-	-	-
	left	-	-	-	-	-
R4 (B) 5 years	right	-	-	-	207	163.5
	left	-	-	-	-	-
R5 7 years	right	-	-	142	-	185
	left	-	-	-	-	-
R7 3 years	right	-	-	-	183	-
	left	-	-	-	-	-
R9 (C) 12 months	right	-	-	-	-	-
	left	102	-	-	-	-
R9 (D) 5-6 months	right	94	-	-	-	-
	left	-	-	-	-	-
M5 (A) 18-20 years	right	278	203	225	-	329
	left	277.5	202	-	395	328.5
M7 16-18 years	right	-	-	-	-	386
	left	-	234	245	-	385

CONCLUSIONS

The approach developed here takes into account bioanthropological data on skeletons of young individuals (children and adolescents) from the necropolis of Aroneanu Monastery (16th – 19th centuries) of Iași. This study provides information concerning the age at death, the sex (for adolescents), the size and morphology of both the skull and postcranial skeletons. No osteopathies, abnormalities or odontopathies were reported for the skeletons we analyzed in this paper.

Regarding the frequency of the skeletons belonging to children and adolescents, in the entire studied sample, it is similar to other necropolis in medieval Iași, and lower than in other synchronous necropolis in Moldova.

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Fig. 1. Skull of skeleton M 5 (A), ♀, 18-20 years old (*juvenis*): a. facial norm; b. right lateral norm.

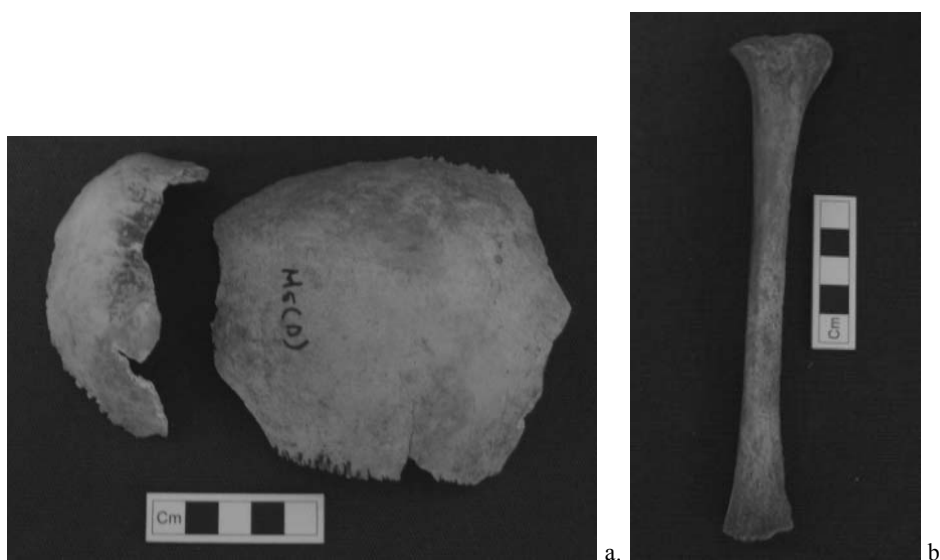


Fig. 2. Skeleton M 5 (D), 4-5 years old (*infans I*): a. skull fragments; b. right tibia.



Fig. 3. Skeleton M7, ♂, 16-18 years old (*juvenis*): skull fragments.



Fig. 4. Skeleton M12 (C), 10 years old (*infans II*): left femur.



Fig. 5. Skeleton M12 (D), 6 months (*infans I*): femurs and right humerus.



Fig. 6. Skeleton M17 (B), 14 years (*infans II*): skull fragments.

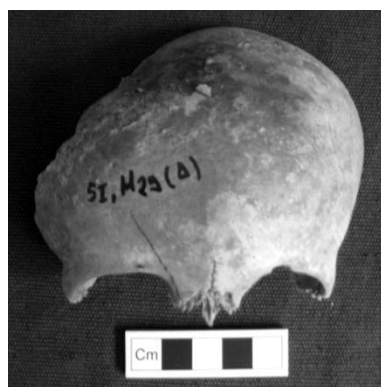


Fig. 7. Skeleton M29 (D), 14 years old (*infans II*): frontal bone.

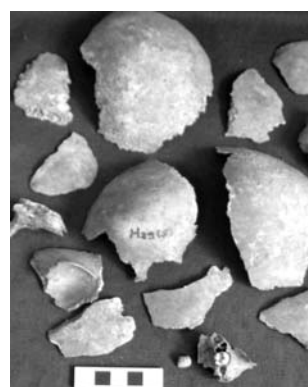


Fig. 8. Skeleton M29 (F), 4 years (*infans I*): skull fragments.



Fig. 9. Skeleton R1 (C), 5 years (*infans I*): a. skull fragments; b. left femur.



Fig. 10. Skeleton R1 (D), 11 years old (*infans II*): femur diaphyses.



Fig. 11. Skeleton R2, 13-14 years old (*infans II*): incomplete skull.

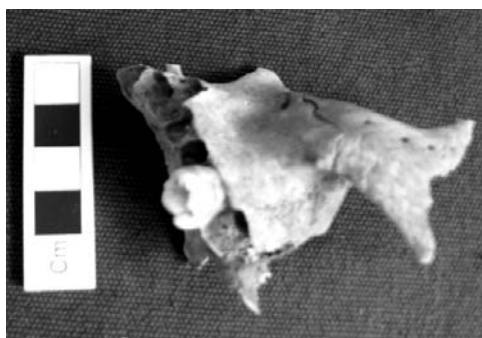


Fig. 12. Skeleton R2, 13-14 years old (*infans II*): left half of the upper jaw.



Fig. 13. Skeleton R3 (B), 5 years old (*infans I*), frontal bone, the right temporal squama and mandible.

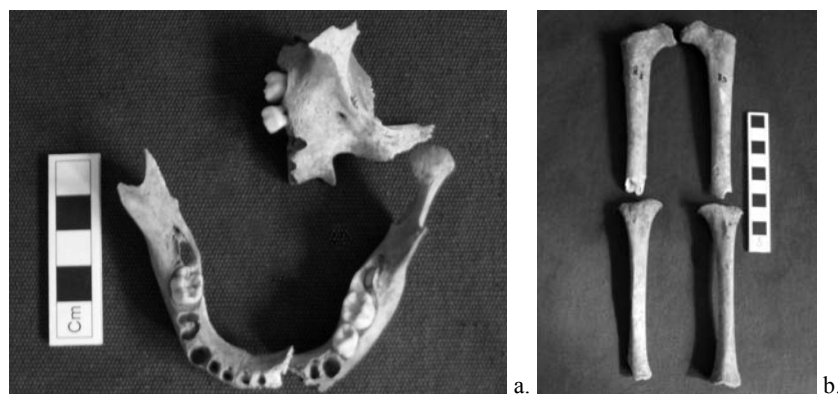


Fig. 14. Skeleton R3 (A), 24 months (*infans I*):
a. upper jaw and mandible (incomplete); b. femurs (incomplete) and tibias.

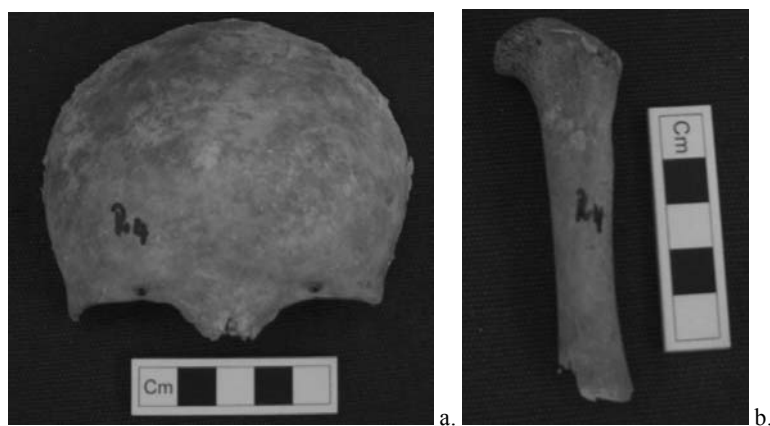


Fig. 15. Skeleton R4 (A), 3 years (*infans I*): a. frontal bone; b. fragment of the left femur.

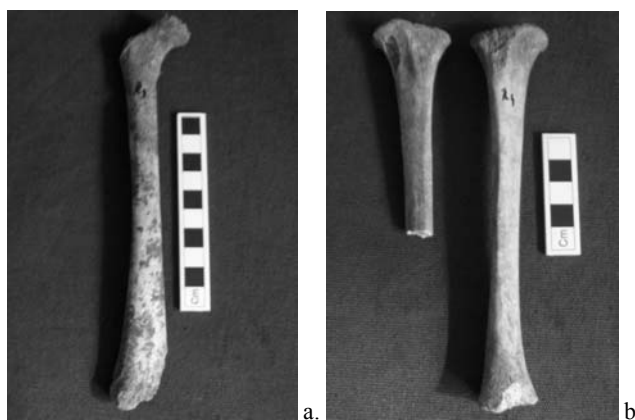


Fig. 16. Skeleton R4 (B), 5 years old (*infans I*): a. right femur; b. tibias (incomplete).

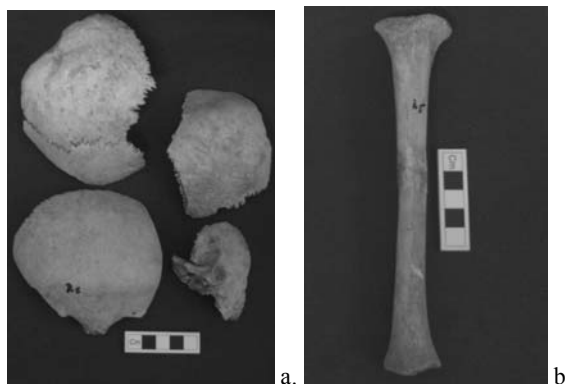


Fig. 17. Skeleton R5, 5 years old (*infans I*): a. skull fragments; b. right tibia.



Fig. 18. Skeleton R7, 3 years (*infans I*): left femur.



Fig. 19. Skeleton R9 (C), 12 months (*infans I*): skull fragments and left humerus (incomplete).

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ÉTUDE ANTHROPOLOGIQUE CONCERNANT L'HARMONIE DES CERTAINES PROPORTIONS CORPORELLES CHEZ UNE POPULATION MASCULINE DE ROUMANIE

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Abstract. The objective of this paper is to analyze and to comparatively appreciate in metric and modular system the harmony of some corporal proportions, less used by the classic anthropometry, which are deducted by interrelation of 13 dimensions situated on the longitudinal axe of the body. The studied group includes 771 males aged between 19 and 61, with an average age of 37.23, coming from all the historical and geographical provinces of post-war Romania. The volume of the group varies depending on the examined type of dimension (module) or proportion. 51 proportions based on 13 dimensions have been calculated, stature being the main dimension, and physiognomic height of the face (tr-gn), sternum length (sst-xy), and hand length (sty-da) being the main modules. Weighted means for the whole group were calculated. The results, compared with canons – beauty models from the history of plastic arts and architecture, confirm a harmoniously proportionate average corporal male habitus for the stature development.

Keywords: anthropometry, proportion, module, canon.

«C'est impossible de faire un beau portrait après un seul homme. Parce qu'il n'y a pas sur la terre un homme beau qui ne puisse pas être dépassé en beauté. Et il n'existe pas un homme sur la terre qui puisse dire comme il devrait montrer le plus bel homme.» (Albrecht Dürer, Proportionslehre, 1528; après Ghițescu, 1965: 10)

Les anthropologues roumains ont été préoccupés dans leurs recherches populationnelles par les aspects concernant les proportions corporelles pour décrire les types anthropologiques et constitutionnels des roumains. Les résultats ont été publiés dans les revues *Annuaire Roumain d'Anthropologie*, 1964-2017 et *Études et Recherches d'Anthropologie*, 1964-1998. Une bonne partie de leurs recherches est comprise aussi dans les Atlas de la Roumanie et les Atlas des provinces historiques, mais beaucoup de dimensions et de proportions somatiques, aussi les plus traits morpho-physionomiques, ont été éludés (Radu, Glavce, Bulai-Știrbu, 2011: 47; Vulpe, 2012: 23). Notre travail reprend, continue et développe une étude

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antérieure basée sur moins de données, de sujets et de proportions considérées. Le but c'est la comparaison des nos résultats, les dimensions et les proportions moyennes, aux canons¹ de l'histoire et aux données moyennes nationales, d'estimer un type moyen et d'apprécier, finalement, l'harmonie corporelle du lot soumis à l'investigation (Luca, 2016: 327).

QUELQUES CANONS ET MODULES DE LA REPRÉSENTATION DU CORP HUMAIN DANS L'HISTOIRE DES ARTS PLASTIQUES ET DE L'ARCHITECTURE

Et, parce que la thème principale du notre travail est représenté par les proportions, il faut dire quelque chose concernant la section d'or qui a été connue en secret depuis les temps immémoriales par les égyptiens et les grecs sous le nom de «la *division en moyenne et extrême raison*» et dévoilée par le mathématicien grec Euclid en III-ème siècle av. J.-C. : \

«Sur le segment AB d'une ligne droite (A et B – les points extrêmes) sur lequel se trouvent une infinité de points, un seul point, C, sectionne le segment AB en deux parties inégales, l'une plus grande, AC, et l'autre, CB, moindre, ainsi que la partie plus grande soit la moyenne proportionnelle entre le segment total et la moindre partie: $AC^2 = CB \cdot AB$ ou $AC = \sqrt{CB \cdot AB}$. Si AC, la partie majeure, est notée M et CB, la partie mineure m, on résulte: $M = \sqrt{m(M+m)}$ et d'ici la proportion $(M+m) / M = M / m$ notée s (section) et $M / (M+m) = m / M = 1 / s$. On résulte $s = (\sqrt{5}+1) / 2 = 1,618033988...$ et $1/s = 2 / (\sqrt{5} + 1) = 0,618033988...$ les deux résultats ayant la même partie décimale transcendante, la raison pourquoi Euclid a dénommés les nombres s et 1/s des nombres irrationnels.» (Radian, 1981: 44-48) (Fig. 1)



Fig. 1. La section du segment AB au point C; M – partie majeure; m – partie mineure.

En suivant le fil de l'histoire on trouve beaucoup d'informations concernant diverses modèles – *canons*², en servant à déterminer *les proportions du corps humain* selon un idéal esthétique, spécialement dans les arts plastiques, l'architecture, et, implicitement, sur les différentes parties anatomo-morphologiques prises comme unités de mesure – *modules*. Nous avons considéré que c'était approprié de présenter quelques canons et quelques éléments du corps humain, qui se retrouvent aussi dans notre recherche, sur l'harmonie des certaines proportions corporelles.

¹ Il faut savoir que bien qu'on note des différences morphologiques, il existe une norme de proportion entre chaque être humain. Elle est définie par la hauteur de sa tête. C'est ce qu'on appelle un canon, qui est l'unité de référence idéale pour l'anatomie humaine (Milici, 2018, manuscrit).

² Canon, n.m., (gr. kanôn, règle). Ensemble de règles servant à déterminer les proportions du corps humain selon un idéal esthétique (à l'origine, dans la statuaire grecque); Module, n.m., (lat. modulus, mesure). Unité fonctionnelle susceptible d'être utilisée conjointement à d'autres éléments de même nature... (*Le petit Larousse* 2008, Paris, pp. 155, 654).

L'antiquité chinoise (le confucianisme, le taoïsme) soutient le principe du mesurage de l'homme «pour connaître la société, la nature, le cosmos». « *Le livre de Hieh Tsu Yuan pour l'enseignement de la peinture des hommes* » donne attention au visage, «le miroir de l'individu et sa liaison avec le cosmos»: la face se divise en trois parties verticales égales – le front, le nez et la région de la bouche et du menton; la stature est composée par 8 longueurs de la face et quand l'homme est assis par 5 longueurs; la hauteur totale est égale à la longueur latérale comprise entre les bras étendues (l'envergure). Dans l'art bouddhiste existaient des manuels avec les canons de mise en proportions les figures humaines « concrétisées par la pouvoir magique des nombres et des formes géométriques ». Dans l'ancienne science indienne des proportions, la hauteur totale du corps était mesurée dès la limite des cheveux au front jusqu'aux plantes et « le module intrinsèque était la hauteur de la face à son tour égale à la longueur de la main » – « tala » (en sanscrite « main » ou « paume »): ainsi, un corps bien proportionné avait la hauteur totale du corps 9 tala. Au nord de l'Inde, la divinité suprême, Brahma, avait une hauteur totale de 10 tala = « desatala ». Les proportions statuaires de la divinité étaient présentées en projection orthogonale tridimensionnelle dans un système de coordonnées « cartésiennes ». En Égypte l'unité principale était le coude divisé en paume et doigts, la main étant considérée « la clé des proportions ». Les Égyptiens ont construit un carroyage (quadrillage) pour faciliter la mise en proportions des différentes détails. (Radian, 1981: 195-214; Buchholz, 2010: 20-27).

Les Grecs prennent des canons de l'art des civilisations antiques antérieures mais leurs canons ont résulté par la recherche du corps humain en statique et en mouvement et la mise en proportions se faisaient aussi dans l'architecture où régnait la loi de la symétrie (la proportion et l'équilibre des formes) et «la section d'or». La hauteur de la face était un module important. Le célèbre sculpteur et architecte, Polyclète d'Argos (450-420e av. J.- C.), créateur de la théorie du « *Canon des proportions* », a réalisé une statue dénommée « *Canon* » essayant d'harmoniser entre eux tous les éléments composants du corps humain pour créer un type idéal: « l'homme comme il est mais aussi comme il faudrait qu'il soit! ». Les recherches sur ses statues viriles, « *Doryphore* » («Le porteur de lance»), ou « *Diadoumène* » (athlète qui lie sa diadème) prouvent l'hypothèse que Polyclète a utilisé des rapports numériques entre les parties du corps pour créer un modèle (Fig. 2). On sait qu'il a effectué des mesurages sur centaines d'hommes pour trouver une valeurs moyenne – «valeur idéale basée sur des données réales». Le médecin grec Galien (s. IIe) dit dans son ouvrage « *Sur les tempéraments* » (en latin *temperamentum* = la juste proportion): « Le nommé Canon incarne la juste proportion des toutes parties, les unes par rapport aux autres. (...), Crisip, croit-tu que la beauté physique se base sur la juste proportion des membres (...) de chaque partie rapportée aux toutes les autres, comme exactement écrit dans le Canon de Polyclète? » Dans le traité « *Mémorables* » par Xénophon (433-355 av. J. - C.), Socrate dit à Parrhasios, peintre grec: « Quand vous créez des figures idéales, parce

qu'il est difficile de trouver par hasard un seul homme dont il soit naturellement sans imperfections dans sa totalité, cherchez d'assembler les parties les plus belles dès beaucoup d'hommes et faites ainsi que leurs corps apparaissent beaux par toutes leurs parties ». (Radian, 1981: 214-223; Buchholz, 2010: 48-53).

Vitruve (Vitruvius, I s.av.J.-C.), ingénieur et architecte romain, dans son traité « *De architectura* », met les proportions des temples par rapport aux celles du corps humain: « Aucun temple ne peut pas être comme il faut si ses parties composantes ne se trouvent pas les unes par rapport aux autres dans une telle proportion comme les membres (parties) d'un homme bien achevé. » Il inscrit le corps humain dans un carré – « *homo ad quadratum* » et dans un cercle – « *homo ad circulum* » en toute sa envergure, l'ombilic (omphallus) étant le centre. Leonardo da Vinci représentera, en 1490, dans un dessin unique, « *l'homme vitruvien* » et, en 1929, Auguste Choisy réalisera la synthèse des côtes de Vitruve dans son livre « *L'histoire de l'architecture* ». Vitruve développe *les trois systèmes de Polyclète: modulaire, la division de l'entier, les rapports numériques*. Pour lui, la hauteur totale de la face et, aussi la main, de l'articulation jusqu'au bout du doigt médus, représente une dixième de la stature. (Ghițescu, 1965: 88; Taton, 1970: 174; Radian, 1981: 224-228; Buchholz, 2010: 56-63). (Les figures 3, 5)



Fig. 2. Le « Doryphore » de Polyclète (selon Ghițescu, 1965:88).

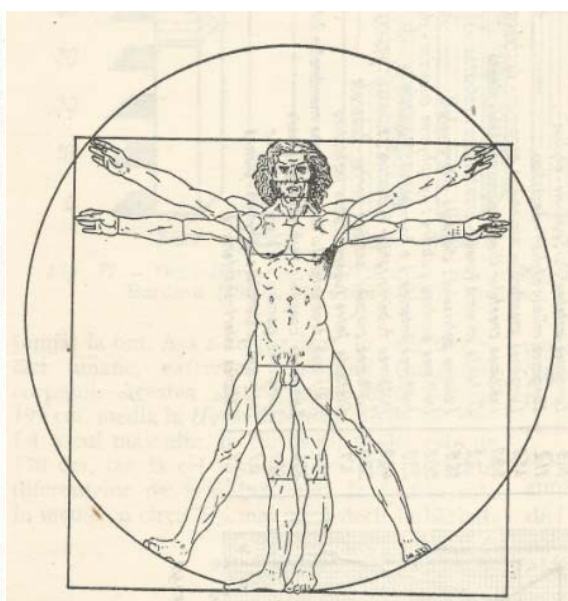


Fig. 3. « L'Homme vitruvien » de Leonardo da Vinci (selon Ranga, 1990: 73).

Pendant le Moyen Âge, dans le contexte mystique et religieux qu'influence aussi les arts et l'architecture, *le canon byzantin* avait comme module pour les proportions corporelles de l'homme la hauteur de la face égale à $9 \frac{1}{3}$ unités de

stature. Dans « *Le livre de peinture de Mont Athos* » (XII-ème siècle), dont une version a été traduit en roumain par le moine, prêtre ordonné, Macarie, existe un paragraphe « *Erminie ou indication pour les mesures (mesurages) duquel qui est naturel ou normal* » où les plus fréquemment est mentionné, comme module, le nez: «la hauteur de la face = 3 nez et il faut que l'oreille soit comme le nez (...) et au genou, une mesure de nez (...)» (Radian, 1981: 235-238).

Pendant la Renaissance (XV – XVI siècles), la (re)découverte de l'œuvre de Vitruve stimule la reprise des préoccupations concernant les proportions du corps humain en arts et architecture. Leon Batista Alberti (1404-1472), humaniste et théoricien de l'architecture, a effectué des mesurages sur les hommes en 70 positions pour connaître les parties du corps humain et leurs rapports numériques et a élaboré le système « *exempeda* », un sort de système décimal, en passant les proportions dans l'espace à l'aide d'un *système de coordonnées*. L'architecte Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502), promoteur de *l'anthropomorphisme* dans « *Traité d'architecture* », inclut la figure humaine dans la structure architecturale. Il prend comme module la hauteur de la face et l'applique à la projection des certaines édifices de Florence. Vers la fin du XVe siècle sont ramenés à la lumière beaucoup de travaux des antiques. Sont publiées les premières éditions d'Euclid et Archimede. M. Ficino traduit « *Tymeu* », œuvre de Platon où se trouve la fondation théorique antique de la *science des proportions*. Luca Pacioli di Borgo (1445-1510), mathématicien italien, publie en 1503 « *De divina proportione* » avec des dessins de Leonardo da Vinci (Radian, 1981: 239-242; Borden, 2010: 170-171).

Le génie polyvalent de la Renaissance, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), a été longtemps préoccupé sur le problème des proportions et, en 1490, a fait un dessin unique des schémas de Vitruve – « *L'homme vitruvien* » (à Venise). (Fig. 3). Un adepte du système modulaire, Leonardo l'associe avec le système numérique. En « *Esthétique* » il écrit: « L'homme bien proportionné, bien accompli, faut qu'il ait *dix faces en stature* et deux faces en largeur des épaules (...). L'oreille est comme le nez en longueur... » Il fait des nombreuses mesurages sur beaucoup d'hommes d'âge différent, en diverses positions, en repos et en mouvement, en parlant de deux types: de 9 et de 10 têtes par rapport à la stature (les dessins se trouvent dans « *Quaderni d'anatomia* »). Leonardo cherche une *loi mathématique* unique et définitive des proportions humaines. Pour lui, la hauteur de la tête = stature/8; la hauteur de la face

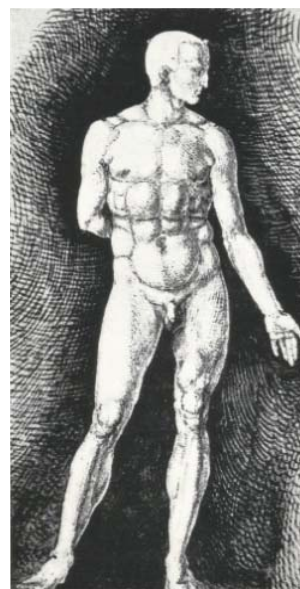


Fig. 4. Dürer: « Étude de morphologie extérieure » (selon Ghițescu, 1965: 28).

physionomique = la longueur de la main = stature/10; la hauteur de la tête + le cou = stature/6. Une autre personnalité marquante de la Renaissance, l'illustre sculpteur, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564), a étudié les modèles antiques en considérant que le type idéal de beauté est une réflexion de la divinité. Il a créé le premier nu monumental, « *David* », de 434 cm, trouvé à Florence. Une figure dominante de la Renaissance de l'Europe nordique a été Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), peintre et graphiste, aussi un « *Homo universalis* » comme Leonardo et Michelangelo. Il a effectué des études concernant les proportions et la perspective et a exprimé le désir de découvrir *les règles de la beauté idéale* dans « *Les quatre livres sur les proportions du corps humain* » (1528) où ses dessins représentent des figures humains de deux sexes de différents âges et aussi des proportions des enfants (Fig. 4).

Pour Dürer, la tête a 1/8 et la face 1/10 de la stature. Il est préoccupé de rapports numériques, de géométrie, de science du mouvement. Convaincu que l'art véritable se base sur la science « il cherche la beauté suprême »: « Qu'est-ce que c'est la beauté je ne sais pas... Mais Le Créateur du Monde sait... ». (Radian, 1981: 243-250; Buchholz, 2010: 150-163, 202-205; Ghițescu, 1965: 73).

C'est l'Époque moderne et contemporaine qui pose l'opportunité des canons. C'est une période quand la pensée scientifique est dirigée vers la diversité humaine, les changements selon âge, les différences sexuelles, les influences climatiques, mésologiques etc. Dans le « *Traité d'anatomie* » (1829), Pierre Nicolas Gerdy fait l'association des données de la théorie des proportions avec l'anthropologie et l'anatomie moderne. Adolf Zeising (1810-1876), un intellectuel allemand, publie en 1854, à Leipzig, « *La nouvelle théorie des proportions du corps humain extraite d'une loi morphologique restée jusque maintenant inconnue et quelle prédomine dans la nature et dans l'art* ». Zeising utilise la statistique, le calcul de la valeur moyenne pondérée pour chaque élément constitutif du corps et conclut qu'il existe une loi qui régit les proportions corporelles du chaque individu, quel que soit le sexe, l'âge, la race, l'ethnie, le moment de sa vie, de ses changements métriques etc., une loi organique – *la section d'or*. (Radian 1981: 258-263; Motoc 2011: 317).

À la moitié du XX-e siècle, en pleine industrialisation et standardisation des constructions, l'architecte Le Corbusier – Charles Edouard Jeanneret (1887-1965) a conçu (breveté en 1945 et le livre est apparu en 1949) un système de proportions – Le Modulor (*module + nombre d'or*) qui représente un système basé sur la section d'or, applicable dans l'architecture mais déduit des *proportions du corps humain*. Il part de l'idée que l'espace architectural doit être mis en proportions selon des dimensions du bénéficiaire: « *Tout à l'échelle de l'homme!* ». Le modulor, selon lui, représentait un « instrument auxiliaire » pour obtenir une *harmonie* accomplie et une parfaite correspondance entre l'homme et son environnement. (Radian, 1981: 264-265; Borden, 2010: 410-413). (Fig. 6)

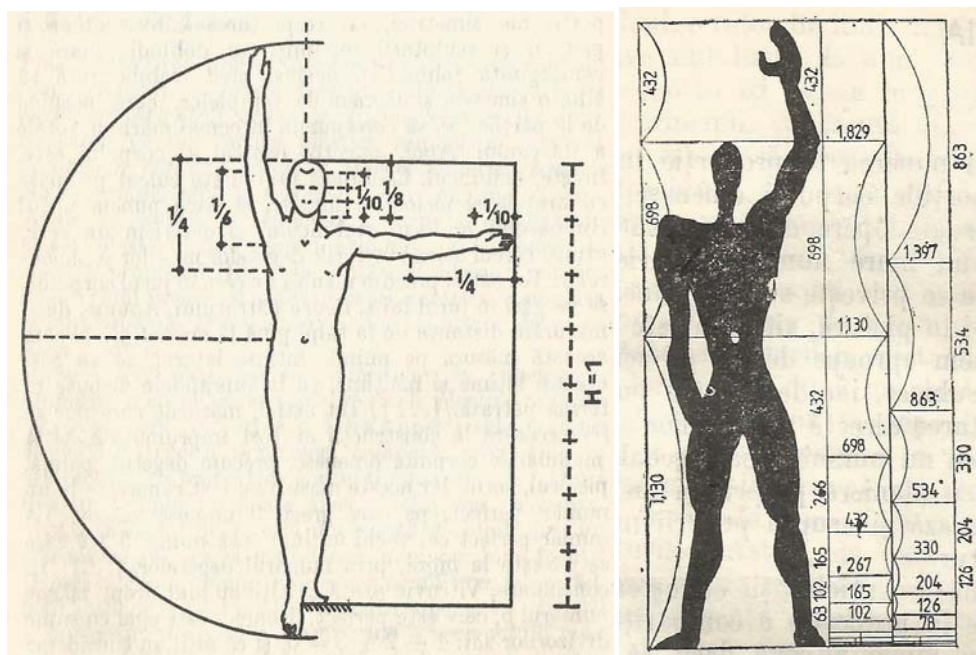


Fig. 5-6. « L'Homme vitruvien », synthèse par A. Choisy (à gauche) et « Le Modulor » de Corbusier (à droite) (selon Radian, 1981, pp. 226 et 265).

MATERIEL ET METHODES

« En partant des hypothèses raisonnables, les résultats numériques deviennent conformes au bon sens. » (H. Poincaré et E. Borel, cités par G. Darrois, 1975: 87-102)

Notre lot d'étude est constitué par 773 hommes provenus des toutes les provinces historico- géographiques de la Roumanie d'après la deuxième guerre mondiale et qui représente 9 échantillons de sujets: Bran-Braşov, Bucium-Alba, Sălişte-Sibiu et Maieru-Bistriţa-Năsăud - *Transylvanie*, Gorj (Novaci et Târgu Cărbuneşti) en *Olténie*, Soveja-Vrancea en *Moldavie*, deux échantillons de la recherche en filiation et un échantillon d'étudiants de l'Université Écologique de Bucarest, les trois dernières ayant des sujets des mêmes provinces et aussi des Bucarest, *Munténie*, *Dobroudja* et *Banat* (Fig. 7)³. L'âge moyen des sujets est $37,23 \pm 12,26$ ans avec une amplitude individuelle de 19-60 ans et, selon l'échantillon, entre une moyenne minime de 25,52 ans – les étudiants et une moyenne maximale de 45,86 ans – à Soveja (Fig. 8).

³ Les enquêtes anthropologiques ont été coordonnées par Dr. Th. Enăchescu (†), Dr. Maria Vlădescu (†), Dr. M. Guiaşu, Dr. C. Vulpe, Dr. Gh. Geană et Dr. V. M. Mihăilescu.

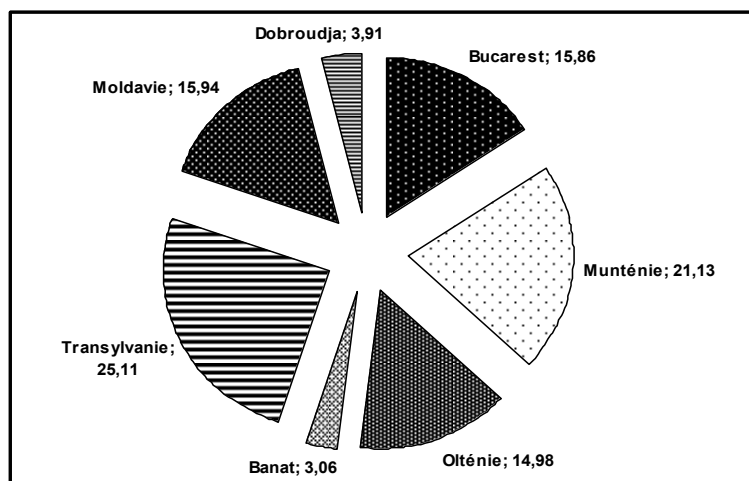


Fig. 7. Lieu de naissance des sujets selon les provinces historiques de Roumanie (%).

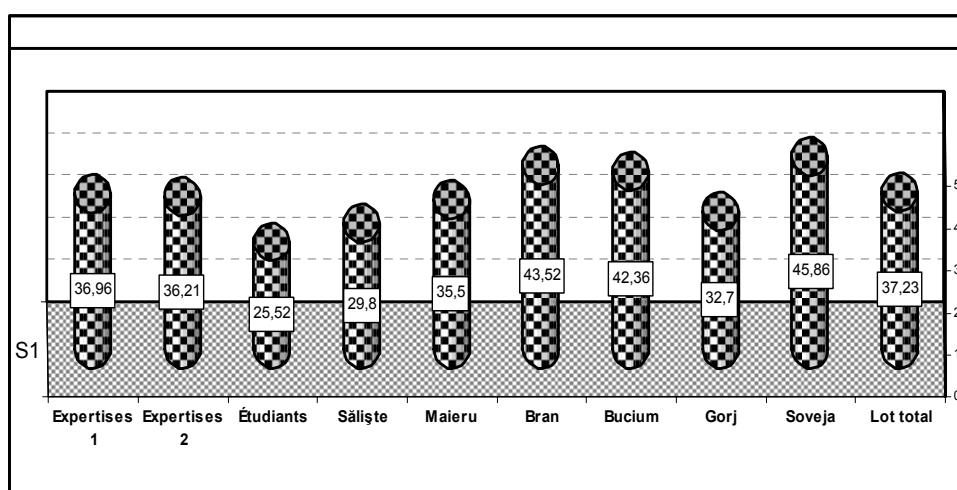


Fig. 8. Variation de l'âge moyen des sujets selon les échantillons composantes du lot total (ans).

Le volume des sujets est variable selon le caractère considéré et collecté dans la recherche respective (tableau 1). À la constitution des proportions (de forme: dimension 100 / dimension) interviennent 13 dimensions composantes de la stature, situées sur l'axe longitudinal du corps (sauf la longueur de la main et la longueur de l'oreille): la hauteur de la tête (t-v), la longueur de l'oreille (sa-sba), la hauteur de la face physiologique (tr-gn), la hauteur de la face morphologique (n-gn), la hauteur du nez (n-sn), la hauteur de vertex au sternum = tête + cou (V-sst), la hauteur du sternum (sst-xy), la hauteur abdominale (xy-assis), la hauteur antérieure du tronc (sst-assis), la taille-assise (V-assis), la longueur du membre inférieur (stature –

taille-assise) et la stature (V-sol). L'unité de mesure pour les dimensions est le millimètre – mm, une convention générale en anthropologie physique pour l'anthropométrie. Notre calcul s'est arrêté à 51 proportions (la liste en restant ouverte) (tableau 1). On a calculé la valeur moyenne pondérée et la déviation standard des dimensions et proportions pour caractériser le lot total, après la formule:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (X_i N_i)}{\sum_i N_i} \quad \sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^n [\sigma_i^2 + (X - X_i)^2] N_i}{\sum_i N_i}}$$

Où : X_i = valeur moyenne du chaque échantillon; N_i = volume d'échantillon

Les dimensions et les proportions ont été comparées avec les valeurs moyennes nationales mentionnées dans diverses travaux scientifiques (Radu, 2011: 52; Luca, 2016: 327; Ann. Roum. Anthropol., 1964-2017; St. cercet. antropol., 1964-1998 etc.) (Fig. 9) pour apprécier l'éloignement des nos résultats par rapport aux celles-ci (en utilisant la variable normée "z" ou la distance réduite) et par rapport aux canons (on a calculé les différences arithmétiques entre les valeurs composantes en unités d'indice, plus exactement de proportion – u.p.= %) (Aron, 1997: 22; Trebici, 1985: 133) (Fig. 10).

RÉSULTATS ET COMMENTAIRES

1. Caractérisation des hommes du lot de recherche (Tableau 1; Fig. 9)

La caractérisation fait référence aux valeurs moyennes des caractères et leurs phénotypes pour lesquels on trouve des échelles anthropologiques de variation.

Les sujets du lot total ont, en moyenne (échelle Martin), une stature grande au début de la catégorie de variation (1709,81); les valeurs moyennes des échantillons varient entre statures sur-moyennes (1678,28 – Maieru) et grande (1749,04 – Étudiants). La taille assise du lot est sur-moyenne (éch. Schlaginhaufen) au début de la catégorie (901,11) et varie entre moyenne (888,65 – Bran) et sur-moyenne (917,78 – Étudiants). La tête a une hauteur moyenne (éch. Routil) à la limite supérieure de la catégorie (125,37) et varie entre moyenne (123,04 – Étudiants) et haute (128,9 – Expertises 1). La face (éch. Lebzelter-Saller) variant entre moyenne (121,54 – Bucium) et très haute (134,29 – Soveja). Le nez, en moyenne (éch. Eickstedt) est haut (57,66) et varie entre moyen (54,81 – Étudiants) et très haut (63,14 – Soveja). L'oreille est, plutôt (éch. Martin), de type macrot au début de la catégorie (65,49) et varie entre le type mesot (62,75 – Étudiants) et le type macrot (67 – Bucium). L'indice cormique – proportion de la taille-assise en stature – est (éch. Vallois, après l'indice skelique de Giuffrida-Ruggeri), metriocorme (52,82) et varie entre metriocorme (52,3 – Gorj) et macrocorme à la limite inférieure (53,46 – Expertises 2).

Tableau 1
Valeurs moyennes du lot total des dimensions mises en proportions

Dimension m m	Lot total			Amplitude des valeurs moyennes			
	N	M	DS	M minime	Échantillon	M maxime	Échantillon
V-sol	729	1709,81	68,13	1678,28	Maieru	1749,04	Étud.Univ.
V-assis	708	901,11	42,06	888,65	Bran	917,78	Étud.Univ.
Lg.m.inf.	708	808,11	44,41	786,21	Maieru	832,59	Étud.Univ.
V-sst	345	317,99	19,08	313,49	Maieru	321,25	Novaci
sst-xy	288	184	20,7	174,75	Maieru	196,53	Soveja
sst-assis	352	583,21	28,89	574,86	Novaci	593,44	Expertises 1
xy-a-assis	288	396,99	26,35	391,74	Novaci	403,17	Maieru
sty-da	390	180,66	10,7	173,48	Étud.Univ.	189,11	Expertises 1
t - v	626	125,37	5,48	123,04	Étud.Univ.	128,9	Expertises 1
sa-sba	478	65,49	5,05	62,75	Étud.Univ.	67	Bucium
tr-gn	30	182,9	10,91				Étud.Univ.
n-gn	771	125,55	7,24	121,54	Bucium	134,29	Soveja
n-sn	769	57,66	4,98	54,81	Étud.Univ.	63,14	Soveja

Par rapport aux données nationales de l'Atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie (Radu, 2011: 47) les dimensions ne s'éloignent pas significativement, la distance réduite « z » étant comprise dans l'intervalle ± 1 , entre -0,65 pour la hauteur de la tête et, respectivement, +0,48 pour la hauteur du nez. Comparativement, les hommes du lot ont la stature et la taille-assise plus haute, les membres inférieures plus longues, la hauteur de la face morphologique et du nez plus haute et la hauteur de la tête plus basse (Tableau 1, Fig. 9).

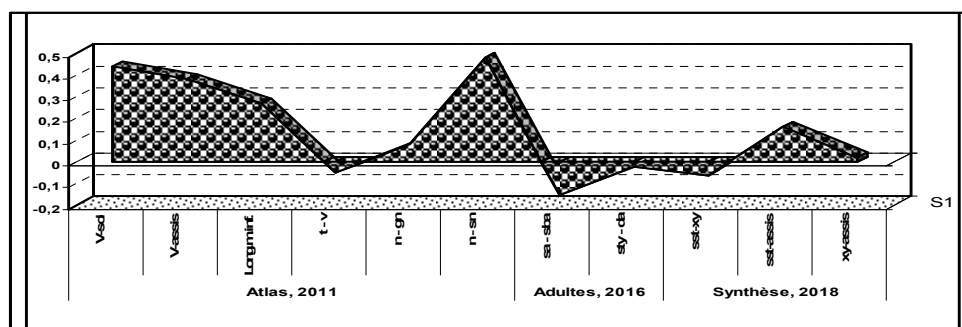


Fig. 9. Éloignement des dimensions du lot par rapport aux certaines données synthétiques concernant les roumains (z).

2. Comportement des certaines dimensions-modules par rapport à la stature et aux autres composantes de la stature (Tableau 2, Fig. 10)

Par comparaison, on analyse les proportions réalisées par les dimensions du lot en stature et en autres segments de la stature et les proportions théoriques, conformément aux différents canons.

La hauteur de la tête + le cou (V-sst) représente 1/5 de la stature (18,7:20), 1/3 de la taille-assise (35,24:33,33), 1/2 de la hauteur du tronc (54,75:50) et 4/5 de la hauteur de l'abdomen (80,34:80). On voit que la proportion la plus approchée et presque égale au canon est V-sst/ xy-a-assis et la proportion la plus éloignée est Vsst/ sst-assis.

La hauteur de la face physionomique (tr-gn) réalise, pratiquement, les proportions demandées par le canon: 1/10 de la stature (10,5:10) et 1/5 de la taille-assise (20,06:20).

La hauteur de la face morphologique (n-gn) représente, selon le canon, 6,66% de la stature (7,37:6,66), 2/5 de V-sst (40,34:40), 2/3 de la hauteur de la face physionomique (67,04:66,66), de la longueur de la main (68,7:66,66) et aussi de la hauteur du sternum, sst-xy (70,3:66,66) et est égale à la hauteur de la tête (100,38:100). Le plus grand éloignement est par rapport au sternum, en reste on trouve des ressemblances comparativement aux canons.

La hauteur de la tête (t-v) demande les mêmes canons que la hauteur de la face (n-gn), en représentant 6,66% de la stature (7,36:6,66), 2/5 de V-sst (39,78:40), 2/3 de la hauteur physionomique (66,77:66,66), de la main (70,09:66,66) et aussi de la longueur du sternum (68,36:66,66). Sauf un éloignement plus grand en rapport à la main, la hauteur de la tête se ressemble à la hauteur de la face morphologique.

La longueur de l'oreille (sa-sba) représente 3,33% de la stature (3,81:3,33), 1/5 de V-sst (20,48:20), 1/3 de la hauteur totale de la face (34,56:33,33), de la longueur de la main (36,27:33,33) et aussi de la longueur du sternum 35,66:33,33), 1/2 de la hauteur de la tête (52,15:50) et aussi de la hauteur de la face (52,95:50). Les proportions avec la hauteur céphalique et faciale et avec la longueur de la main sont légèrement éloignées de canon.

La hauteur du nez (n-sn) demande en proportions les mêmes canons que l'oreille, en représentant 3,33% de la stature (3,39:3,33), 1/5 de V-sst (18,63:20), 1/3 de la face physionomique (30,65:33,33), de la main (31,29:33,33) et de sternum (32,67:33,33), 1/2 de la hauteur de la tête (46,18:50) et aussi de la hauteur de la face morphologique (45,96:50) et devrait être égale à la longueur de l'oreille (86,91:100). On voit que les proportions de la hauteur du nez avec la face, la tête et l'oreille s'éloigne sensiblement comparativement aux canons.

La longueur de la main (sty-da) est 1/10 de la stature (10,53:10), 1/5 de la taille-assise (20,03:20), 3/5 de V-sst (57,6:60), 1/3 de la hauteur du tronc (31,67:33,33), 1/2 de la hauteur de l'abdomen (46,74:50) et, après le canon, égale à la hauteur de la face totale (95:100). L'éloignement plus grand de la main est, par rapport au tronc, à l'abdomen et à la hauteur de la face physionomique.

La hauteur du sternum (sst-xy) représentent 1/10 de la stature (10,82:10), 1/5 de la taille-assise (20,47:20), 2/3 de la hauteur de la tête+le cou, V-sst (58,21:60), 1/3 de la taille-assise (31,74:33,33), 1/2 de la hauteur de l'abdomen (46,69:50) et est égale à la longueur de la main (100,9:100). Les éloignements des canons sont assez petits, sauf la proportion du sternum en hauteur de l'abdomen.

La hauteur de l'abdomen (xy-assis) est 1/5 de la stature (23,36:20), 2/5 de la taille-assise (44,17:40) et 2/3 de la hauteur du tronc (68,42:66,66). Ceci s'éloigne de canon davantage par rapport à la taille-assise.

La hauteur du tronc (sst-assis) représente 1/3 de stature (34,24:33,33) et 2/3 de la taille-assise (64,77:66,66), en réalisant des proportions assez approchées de canon.

Tableau 2
Valeurs moyennes des proportions du lot et les canons supposés (%)

	Proportions	Canon (%)	Lot total N	M	DS	amplitude valeurs moyennes			
						M min.	échantillon	M max.	échantillon
1	V-assis/V-sol		708	52,82	2,36	52,3	Gorj	53,46	Expertises 2
2	Lg.m.inf./V-sol		708	47,26	1,43	46,88	Soveja	47,7	Gorj
3	V-sst/V-sol	20	345	18,69	1,03	18,64	Soveja	18,74	Novaci
4	sst-assis/V-sol	33,33	353	34,24	1,26	33,57	Novaci	34,5	Soveja, Exp.2
5	xy-assis/V-sol	20	288	23,36	1,35	22,89	Novaci	24	Maieru
6	sst-xy/V-sol	10	288	10,82	1,13	10,4	Maieru	11,47	Soveja
7	sty-da/V-sol	10	349	10,53	0,57	9,97	Ét. Univ.Éco.	10,96	Expertises 1
8	t - v /V-sol	6,66	614	7,36	0,37	7,04	Ét. Univ.Éco.	7,48	Expertises 1
9	sa-sba/V-sol	3,33	436	3,81	0,32	3,6	Ét. Univ.Éco.	3,96	Bucium
10	tr-gn/V-sol	10	30	10,5	0,62		Ét. Univ.Éco.		
11	n-gn/V-sol	6,66	728	7,37	0,47	7,04	Ét. Univ.Éco.	7,85	Soveja
12	n-sn/V-sol	3,33	719	3,39	0,32	3,14	Ét. Univ.Éco.	3,69	Soveja
13	V-sst/V-assis	33,33	347	35,24	1,76	35,04	Soveja, Exp.	35,73	Novaci
14	sst-assis/V-assis	66,66	347	64,77	1,72	64,29	Novaci	65	Expertises 1
15	sst-xy/V-assis	20	288	20,47	2,09	20,31	Novaci	21,62	Soveja
16	xy-assis/V-assis	40	288	44,17	2,36	43,26	Soveja	45,26	Maieru
17	sty-da/V-assis	20	330	20,03	1,17	19,34	Ét. Univ.Éco.	20,6	Expertises 1
18	tr-gn/V-assis	20	29	20,06	1,47		Ét. Univ.Éco.		
19	sst-xy/V-sst	60	288	58,21	7,05	55,82	Maieru	61,83	Soveja
20	sty-da/V-sst	60	139	57,6	4,99	56,65	Novaci	58,92	Expertises 1
21	t - v /V-sst	40	264	39,78	2,33	39,4	Maieru	40,36	Expertises 1
22	sa-sba/V-sst	20	139	20,48	1,98	20,23	Novaci	20,82	Expertises 1
23	n-gn/V-sst	40	347	40,34	2,63	38,89	Expertises 1	42,02	Soveja
24	n-sn/V-sst	20	342	18,63	1,88	17,96	Expertises 1	19,84	Soveja
25	t - v/sst-xy	66,66	207	68,36	7,08	65,12	Soveja	71,06	Maieru
26	sa-sba/sst-xy	33,33	81	35,66	4,84		Novaci		
27	n-gn/sst-xy	66,66	288	70,3	7,72	68,36	Novaci	72,89	Maieru
28	n-sn/sst-xy	33,33	288	32,67	4,04	31,96	Novaci	33,51	Maieru
29	V-sst/xy-assis	80	288	80,34	6,64	78,11	Maieru	82,12	Novaci
30	sst-xy/xy-assis	50	288	46,69	6,5	50,03	Soveja	43,67	Maieru
31	stay-da/xy-assis	50	81	46,74	3,6		Novaci		
32	V-sst/sst-assis	50	288	54,75	3,49	54,23	Soveja	55,98	Novaci
33	sst-xy/sst-assis	33,33	288	31,74	2,54	30,23	Maieru	33,34	Soveja
34	xy-assis/sst-assis	66,66	288	68,42	3,26	66,82	Soveja	69,74	Maieru
35	sty-da/sst-assis	33,33	81	31,67	2,23		Novaci		
36	sst-xy/sty-da	100	81	100,9	13,63		Novaci		
37	t - v/sty-da	66,66	260	70,09	4,39	68,4	Expertises 1	71,45	Bran
38	sa-sba/sty-da	33,33	389	36,27	3	35,24	Expertises 1	37,03	Bran
39	n-gn/sty-da	66,66	391	68,7	4,83	65,93	Expertises 1	71,16	Ét. Univ.Éco.
40	n-sn/sty-da	33,33	389	31,29	3,06	29,91	Expertises 1	32,1	Bran
41	sty-da/tr-gn	100	27	95,02	5,84		Ét. Univ.Éco.		
42	t - v/tr-gn	66,66	29	66,77	4,57		Ét. Univ.Éco.		
43	sa-sba/tr-gn	33,33	26	34,56	3,78		Ét. Univ.Éco.		
44	n-gn/tr-gn	66,66	29	67,04	3,13		Ét. Univ.Éco.		
45	n-sn/tr-gn	33,33	29	30,65	2,06		Ét. Univ.Éco.		
46	sa-sba/ t - v	50	336	52,15	4,15	50,69	Ét. Univ.Éco.	53,54	Bucium
47	n-gn/ t - v	100	621	100,38	6,71	96,64	Expertises 1	106,07	Soveja
48	n-sn/ t - v	50	619	46,18	4,25	43,83	Expertises 1	49,91	Soveja
49	n-sn/sa-sba	100	475	86,91	9,21	85,05	Bucium	89,72	Novaci
50	sa-sba/n-gn	50	477	52,92	4,43	50,72	Ét. Univ.Éco.	55,13	Bucium
51	n-sn/n-gn	50	769	45,96	2,98	44,76	Ét. Univ.Éco.	46,99	Soveja

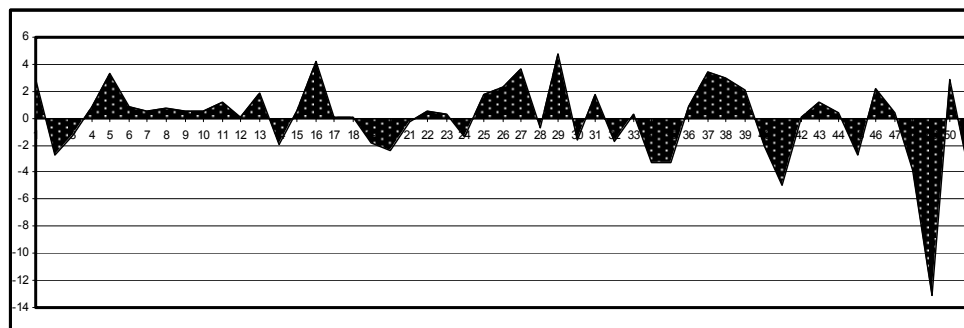


Fig. 10. Éloignement des proportions du lot par rapport aux canons (unité proportion = %).

La plupart des proportions qui expriment des petites différences (± 1 unité proportion ou 1%) ou sont très approchées aux canons sont les celles constituées par des *dimensions rapportées à la stature* (tableau 2, fig. 8). Toutes les 5 dimensions céphalo-faciales (8-12 en ordre au tableau 2 et dans la figure 10) et 3 corporelles, la hauteur du tronc, du sternum et la longueur de la main, réalisent des proportions en stature très approchées aux canons. En même temps on observe que *la hauteur physiologique de la face* (tr-gn) et *la longueur de la main* (sty-da), prises comme « modules », y ajoutant *la hauteur du sternum* (sst-xy), mises en proportion de la stature, réalisent presque 1/10 de la stature. Donc, on obtient trois égalités relatives: $V\text{-sol} = 10 \text{ tr-gn} = 10 \text{ sty-da} = 10 \text{ sst-xy}$. En plus, les trois dimensions réalisent aussi en taille-assise des proportions très approchées entre eux et aux canons, représentant 1/5 de la taille-assise. (Tableau 2). Excepté le nez, la hauteur morphologique de la face, la hauteur de la tête et la longueur de l'oreille s'approchent aux canons en ce qui concerne leur proportion en hauteur de la tête + le cou et en hauteur totale de la face. Concernant la hauteur du nez, on voit que ceci est plus petite par rapport à l'oreille (tableau 1) et on sait aussi la relativité des mesurages (en plus, c'est possible que le nez – module de l'histoire soit pris par sa longueur nasion-pronasion = distance racine nasale – bout du nez!!!). Ainsi, la plus éloignée proportion (et la plus grande), concernant la valeur, est la hauteur du nez / la longueur de l'oreille (n-sn / sa-sba), qui se trouve à -13,09 unités de proportion (%) par rapport au canon (86,91:100). Et pourtant, c'est la hauteur du nez qui réalise approximativement 1/3 de la hauteur du sternum (32,67: 33,33), la proportion étant très approchée au canon! C'est le jeu de la mise en proportion, le jeu des nombres, le jeu de hasard! Nous avons trouvé 20 proportions du total de 51 qui ont des valeurs à une différence de ± 1 u.p. (%) par rapport aux canons supposés ($\approx 40\%$ du total) (tableau 2, fig. 10).

Les proportions les plus éloignées par rapport aux canons, sans l'exception de n-sn/sa-sba, se situent entre -4,98 u.p. (longueur de la main/hauteur physiologique de la face = sty-da/tr-gn) et, respectivement, +4,75 u.p. (hauteur totale de la tête+cou/hauteur du tronc = V-sst/sst-assis). Autres proportions qui se situent aussi plus éloignées sont la hauteur du nez/ hauteur de la face morphologique (n-sn/n-gn), à -4,04 u.p., et la hauteur de l'abdomen/taille-assise (xy-assis/V-assis), à +4,17 u.p. (Fig. 10).

CONCLUSIONS

« Dans chaque œuvre *le beau* s'obtient à l'aide d'une certaine *symétrie* (= *proportion*) et d'*harmonie*, dès beaucoup de nombres partiels subordonnés à une mesure d'ensemble et le laid naît immédiatement que, par hasard, un élément manque ou ne s'accorde pas. » (Plutarque, Œuvres morales, 45-cd, ch.13)

Le but du travail est l'appréciation de l'harmonie corporelle d'un lot de 773 hommes roumains d'âge mûr ($35,4 \pm 11,67$ ans), sujets des enquêtes anthropologiques qui proviennent de toutes les provinces historiques de la Roumanie. À la base de l'appréciation du développement corporel des sujets se trouvent 13 dimensions céphalo-faciales et somatiques dont 12 sont des composantes de la stature, la principale dimension corporelle – l'axe longitudinal du corps. Les 51 proportions résultées de l'interrelation de ceci ont été comparées aux différents canons utilisés de l'histoire des arts plastiques et de l'architecture présentés dans l'introduction du travail.

Le lot de recherche, ayant des valeurs moyennes dimensionnelles approchées par rapport aux données nationales, réalisent des proportions moyennes dont environ 40% (20 des 51) sont presque égales aux canons historiques et les autres se situent à une distance entre -4,98 et +4,75 unités de pourcentage par rapport au canon considéré. L'analyse du comportement des certaines dimensions, spécialement celles prises comme modules principaux en différents canons, a dévoilé encore un module, la hauteur du sternum (sst-xy) ressemblant aux autres deux, la hauteur physiognomique de la face (tr-gn) et la longueur de la main (sty-da), les trois en réalisant 1/10 de la stature. Ainsi, on obtient trois égalités intéressantes: Stature = 10 hauteurs de la face physiognomique = 10 longueurs de la main = 10 hauteurs du sternum ($V\text{-sol} = 10 \text{ tr-gn} = 10 \text{ sty-da} = 10 \text{ sst-xy}$).

Dans ce travail nous n'avons pas cherché la proportion divine, le nombre d'or ou la section d'or, mais, ayant la supposition que, intrinsèquement, quelque part-là, se cache la plus belle proportion, « unité en multiplicité », on peut dire que nos résultats décrivent, d'une manière moyenne, des hommes bien proportionnés, avec un corps harmonieusement développé.

Nos gratitudeux aux nos sujets, des hommes roumains villageois ou citadins, pour leur coopération volontaire, bienveillance et patience au cours des enquêtes anthropologiques.

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ÉTUDE ANTHROPOLOGIQUE CONCERNANT CERTAINES CARACTERISTIQUES CORPORELLES D'UN GROUPE DE FEMMES DE L'INDUSTRIE DE BUCAREST

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Abstract. The present paper is part of an ergonomic anthropology research conducted between 2003 and 2004 in Romanian urban and industrial centers, its main objective being the design of some clothing equipments for protection correlated with the dimensional variability of Romanian population. Our sample is composed of 79 females aged between 20 and 55 ($X \pm SD = 41,87 \pm 5,91$), selected from the main group of 500 females on the subjective criteria of ectoscopic evaluation of a harmonious corporeal fulfillment. From the multitude of body measurements used by the clothing industry we chose 5 dimensions specific to physical anthropology, measured in an upright position (height, weight, thoracic, abdominal and hips circumferences), on which base corporeal development and nutritional status indices – I. Goldstein, Bouchard, Quetelet (BMI), Rohrer – were calculated. Average values and somatic phenotypes have been reported to Anthropologic Atlas of Romania average values for the whole country, to urban feminine industrial population average values as to some variation scales specific for physical anthropology, and significance tests were applied. The phenotypical variability of ponderal indices was also appreciated for percentile intervals. The results confirm a narrower variability selection oriented to average phenotypes, with average values for all the somatic characters being very close to average values for the whole country and individual characters neatly prevailing inside the „ $M \pm SD$ ” interval. Thus, the results describe some kind of an average corporeal “model” for the adult female worker in urban industry. Our approach supports the importance of physical and ergonomic anthropology researches for the design of useful metric standards for various sectors of human activity.

Keywords: anthropology, corporality, nutritional indices, ergonomics.

L'anthropologie roumaine inscrit beaucoup de recherches concernant la structure anthropologique des femmes par rapport aux hommes, leur typologie constitutionnelle, certains caractéristiques bio-socio-démographiques, biochimiques, physiologiques, génétiques, biomédicale etc., des recherches différenciées selon des divers facteurs éco-géographiques (urbain/rural, altitude), historiques (provinces roumaines) ou socio-professionnels.

Pendant les années 1950-1970, on consigne des recherches d'Anthropologie appliquée sur les diverses catégories socioprofessionnelles concernant seulement les hommes: travailleurs forestiers, mineurs, métallurgistes etc. Conformément au

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Programme Biologique International concernant l'adaptabilité humaine, Suzana Grințescu-Pop, Th. Enăchescu et leurs collaborateurs S. Beroniade, T. Drăghicescu, E. Radu, H. Schmidt, M. Vlădescu, C. Vulpe, ont conçu en 1973, pour la première fois dans le pays, un « Projet de prospection anthropométrique de la Roumanie » où ont été incluses aussi les femmes travailleuses en industrie. (Grințescu-Pop, Enăchescu, 1973: 23-34). Vers la fin du XX-ème siècle les recherches des aspects anthropologiques de la variabilité socioprofessionnelle des femmes du milieu urbain ont connues une ampleur significative. Les études ont fait des analyses complexes d'ordre anthropologique, constitutionnel, ergonomique, social etc., concernant le degré d'adaptation des femmes à la spécificité professionnelle.

Un objectif principal a été l'élaboration des standards de normalité physique de la population féminine et des normes anthropométriques d'utilité dans l'anthropologie appliquée. (Vlădescu, 1984: 21; Radu, 1985: 25; Radu, Glavce, 1985: 33).

Les coordonnateurs du collectif anthropologique participant au contrat CALLIST ont synthétisé les résultats de la recherche en deux travaux selon les deux sexes. Sont présentées les valeurs moyennes des plus de 50 mesurages concernant des milliers de sujets selon les grands centres urbains du pays, les modifications diachroniques des quelques dimensions corporelles et leurs variabilité selon l'âge et, finalement, la variabilité de la corpulence exprimée par l'indice Quetelet ou IMC. (Radu, Glavce, 2005:19; Glavce, Radu, 2005: 39).

Les travaux scientifiques, articles, monographies et les Atlas illustrent les thèmes majeurs de l'Anthropologie roumain, parmi lesquels se trouvent aussi ceux qui étudient le développement somatique, les caractéristiques corporelles et l'accomplissement corporel des adultes de deux sexes (Vlădescu, Vulpe, 1999: 84; 2005: 15; Glavce, Radu, 2006: 81; Radu, 2011: 76; Vulpe, 2012: 27 etc.).

Notre recherche, portée sur une sélection des femmes de SC « Électro-appareillage » S.A. de Bucarest¹, choisie subjectivement selon des critères concernant spécialement une harmonie corporelle, a comme objectif l'appréciation du développement corporel des femmes du lot et selon âge, la variabilité des dimensions et des indices somatiques par rapport aux données de pays et de Bucarest, la corpulence des femmes par trois indices nutritionnels et, finalement, l'épreuve d'une sélection bien orientée pour décrire un « modèle » corporel moyen de la femme adulte occupée en industrie urbaine, bucarestoise.

MATÉRIEL ET METHODE

L'échantillon de recherche est composée de 79 femmes âgée de 20-55 ans (valeur moyenne = $41,87 \pm 5,91$ ans) sélectionnée dès grand lot 2004 selon l'appréciation subjective ectoscopique d'une relative harmonie concernant l'accomplissement

¹ À l'activité de collection des données à S.C. « Electroaparataj » S.A. Bucarest ont participé aussi d'autres chercheurs de l'Institut d'Anthropologie: Viorica Nicolau, M. Radu, Olguța Chiricea, Florina Raicu, Marin Constantin et as. Ioana Fulga

corporel. (Fig. 1). On a apprécié le niveau d'instruction des femmes et leurs divers métiers. (Fig. 2). On a choisi d'une multitude de mesurages (plus de 50, spécifiques de l'industrie des confections, prélevées statiquement et dynamiquement) seulement 5 dimensions corporelles (stature, poids, circonférence thoracique, abdominale au minimum mésogastrique et circonférence des hanches) et on a calculé 4 indices anthropologiques, 3 de l'état de nutrition ou staturo-pondéraux, de l'accomplissement corporel: l'indice Bouchard de nutrition (Poids / Stature), l'indice Quetelet ou l'Indice de Masse Corporelle (IMC = Poids / Stature) et l'indice Rohrer de trophicité (Poids / Stature) et l'indice Goldstein (C. thoracique / Stature) de développement du thorax. On a calculé les valeurs moyennes et les fréquences relatives des phénotypes de l'échantillon par rapport aux échelles anthropologiques de variation et par rapport aux données concernant la population féminine urbaine, de l'industrie, de Bucarest et de pays. La certitude des différences a été prouvée par des tests de signification (z, t et χ^2). (Tableaux 1-4, Figures 3-4 et 6).

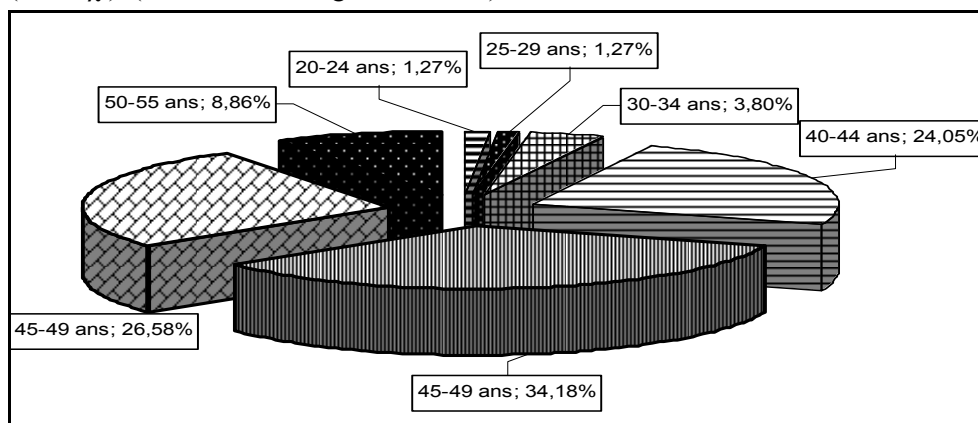


Fig. 1. La distribution des sujets selon l'âge (%).

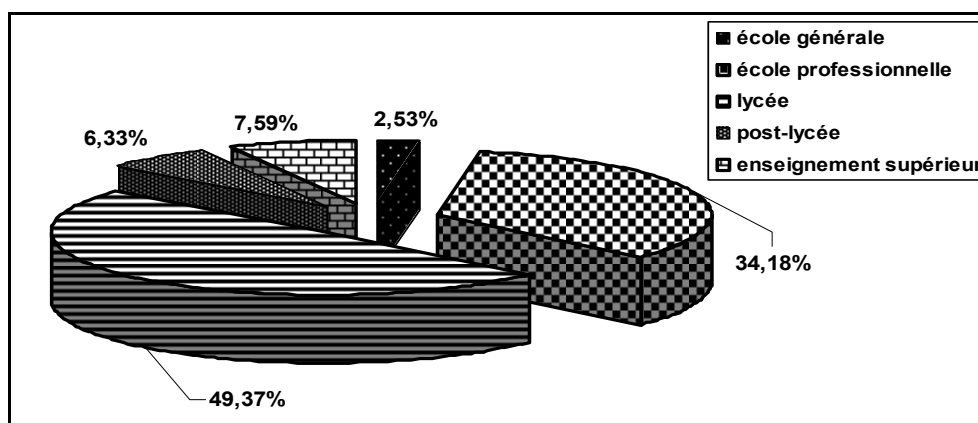


Fig. 2. Niveau d'instruction des femmes du lot (%).

On a calculé aussi les percentiles et on a apprécié la variabilité des indices nutritionnels selon les intervalles percentilaires (Fig. 5). On a appliqué aussi des tests de signification (z , t , x^2). (Glavce, 2002: 75; 2011: 17; 2012: 188; Krogman, 1941: 5-33; Luca, 2011: 129-138; 2016: 93-108; Milici, 2015: 47, 100; Petrescu, 2011: 10; Prado, 2011: 55-66; Rovillé-Sausse, 2008: 81; Vlădescu, 1980: 9-14; OMS, 1995).

RÉSULTATS ET COMMENTAIRES

1. Caractérisation de la sélection féminine (tableaux 1-3 et figures 3-5)

Les femmes du lot choisi ont, moyennement, une stature grande au début sur l'échelle Martin, un thorax moyen vers large selon l'échelle Brugsch et un état de nutrition normale par les moyennes des tous les trois indices: Bouchard – normale, IMC – normopondéralité et Rohrer – eutrophie. (Tableau 1).

Tableau 1
Valeurs moyennes des dimensions et indices N = 79

Caractère	minim	maxim	M	DS	eM	z / Atlas
Taille	1490	1720	1598,48	56,39	6,34	0,62
Poids	40	80	58,25	6,99	0,79	-0,16
Circonférence thoracique	790	1030	888,48	41,07	4,62	0,47
Circonférence abdominale	635	920	783,73	59,07	6,64	-0,13
Circonférence hanches	770	1130	918,43	56,08	6,31	
I. Goldstein	50,32	64	55,6	2,81	0,32	
I. Bouchard	2,68	4,65	3,67	0,38	0,04	
IMC - I. Quetelet	17,19	28,46	22,79	2,32	0,26	-0,52
I. Rohrer	1,07	1,86	1,43	0,16	0,02	-0,24

La stature des femmes varie entre statures sous-moyennes (1490 mm) et statures très grandes (1720 mm), les plus phénotypes étant groupés dans la catégorie des statures grandes (49,37%). (Fig. 3). Les limites de variation du thorax se situent entre les catégories étroit (2,53%) et large (40,51), les thorax moyens ayant la plus grande fréquence (56,96%). Les trois indices de nutrition ont approximativement une variabilité similaire à un essai d'équivaloir les catégories de variation (Fig. 4): Les phénotypes de l'indice Bouchard se trouvent prédominant dans la catégorie de nutrition normale (échelle Olivier) (75,95%) mais la courbe de variation est dirigée vers l'obésité (20,25%). L'indice Quetelet (IMC) enregistre les plus phénotypes dans la catégorie de normalité (77,22%) et assez peu de cas de surpoids (17,72%). Concernant l'indice Rohrer, un indice 3D, les phénotypes, étendus entre hypotrophie et hypertrophie, sont groupés prédominant dans eutrophie (51,9%) avec une fréquence plus petite que les autres indices, l'équivalence avec ceux-là étant possible par l'annexion à eutrophie des catégories voisines, sous-eutrophie et sureutrophie. La courbe de variation de Rohrer se dirige vers sous-eutrophie (25,32%). (Tableau 2, figures 3-4).

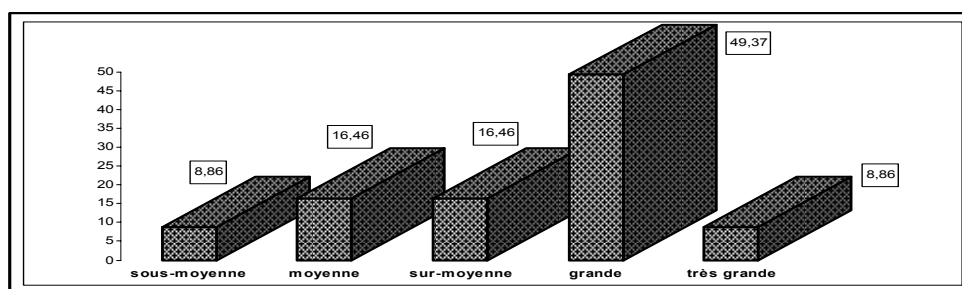


Fig. 3. Variabilité phénotypique de la taille des femmes sur l'échelle Martin (%).

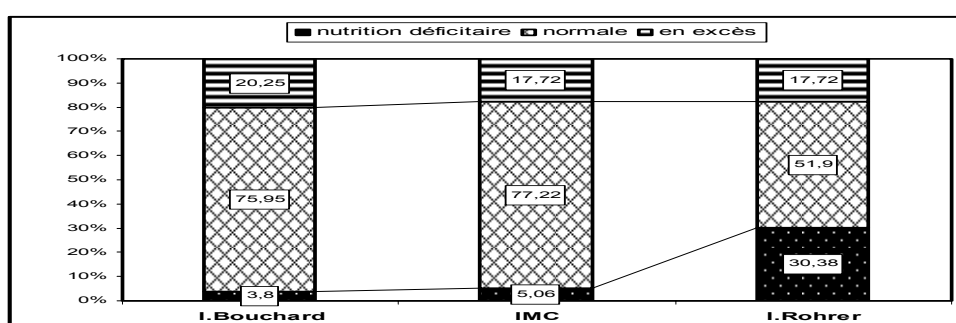


Fig. 4. Présentation comparative de la variabilité phénotypique des indices de nutrition (%).

Tableau 2
Variabilité phénotypique du développement somatique des femmes (%)

Caractère	échelle	catégories de variation phénotypique							
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Taille		sous-moyenne		moyenne		sur-moyenne		grande	
	Martin	149-152,9		153-155,9		156-158,9		159-167,9	
		7	8,86	13	16,46	13	16,46	39	49,37
I. Goldstein		thorax étroit		moyen		thorax large			
	Brugsch	x - 50,9		51 - 55,9		56 - x			
		2	2,53	45	56,96	32	40,51		
I. Bouchard		nutrition déficitaire		normale		obésité			
	Olivier	< 3		3-4		> 4			
		3	3,8	60	75,95	16	20,25		
I. Quetelet		sous-pondéral		normopondéral		surpondéral		obèse I	
	OMS	17-18,49		18,5-24,99		25-29,99		30-39,99	
		4	5,06	61	77,22	14	17,72	40 - x	
I. Rohrer		hypotrophie		sous-eutrophie		eutrophie		sur-eutrophie	
	Saller	x - 1,19		1,2 - 1,34		1,35-1,54		1,55-1,69	
		4	5,06	20	25,32	41	51,9	8	10,13
								1,7 - 2,2	6
									7,59

Concernant la distribution selon l'âge, le volume de l'échantillon nous permet d'apprécier le développement corporelle seulement pour deux intervalle: 30-39 ans et 40-49 ans (Fig. 1). Les femmes de 40-49 ans ont, par rapport aux femmes plus jeunes, de 30-39 ans, une stature légèrement plus petite, le thorax plus large et la corpulence légèrement plus grande, des différences pas significatives et, naturellement, influencées par les modifications circonstancielle liées de l'âge et de préménopause chez le groupe de 40-49 ans (tableaux 3a-3b).

Tableau 3a
Variabilité des indices de nutrition selon les catégories d'âge. Valeurs moyennes

	30 - 39 ans			40 - 49 ans		
	I. Bouchard	IMC	I. Rohrer	I. Bouchard	IMC	I. Rohrer
N	22	22	22	48	48	48
M	3,59	22,17	1,4	3,72	23,18	1,45
D.S.	0,44	2,62	0,16	0,33	1,92	0,13
minimum	2,68	17,19	1,07	2,85	18,86	1,18
maximum	4,46	28,46	1,81	4,65	27,34	1,78

Tableau 3b
Variabilité phénotypique des caractères corporels selon l'âge (%)

Indice	Âge	Catégories de variation (%)				
Stature		sous moyenne	moyenne	sur moyenne	grande	très grande
	30-39 ans	4,55	9,09	13,64	68,18	4,55
	40-49 ans	10,42	18,75	18,75	45,83	6,25
I. Goldstein		étroit	moyen	large		
	30-39 ans		68,18	31,82		
	40-49 ans		50	47,92		
I. Bouchard		déficitaire	normale	obésité		
	30-39 ans	9,09	72,73	18,18		
	40-49 ans	2,08	77,08	20,83		
I. Quetelet		sous-poids	normalité	surpoids		
	30-39 ans	13,64	72,73	13,64		
	40-49 ans		81,25	18,75		
I. Rohrer		hypotrophie	souseutrophie	eutrophie	sureutrophie	hypertrophie
	30-39 ans	9,09	36,36	40,91	9,09	4,55
	40-49 ans	2,08	14,58	64,58	10,42	8,33

La variabilité phénotypique des indices de nutrition sur l'échelle percentilaire (Fig. 5) se ressemble très forte. L'indice Bouchard décrit une courbe de variation légèrement orientée vers les percentiles 85-95, l'indice Quetelet vers 15-5 et l'indice Rohrer vers 5-3. On voit que, pour tous les indices, les plus femmes ($\approx 90\%$) se situent entre les percentiles de la normalité, P5-P95. (Fig. 5) (Rovillé-Sausse, 2008: 81).

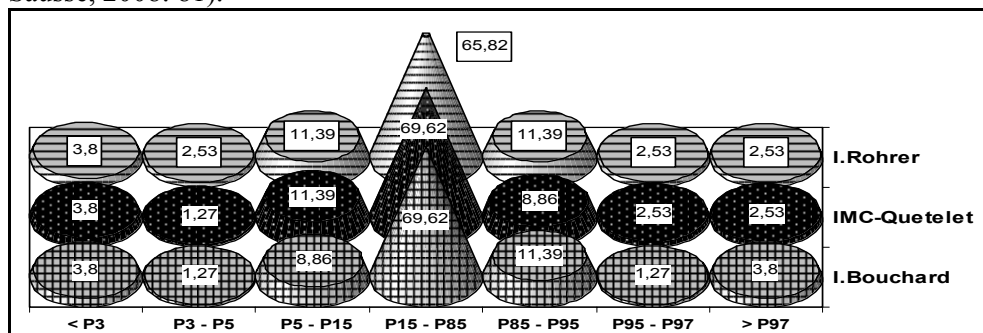


Fig. 5. Distribution des phénotypes nutritionnels selon les intervalles percentilaire (%).

2. Le développement somatique de la sélection par rapport aux données de Bucarest et de pays (Tableau 4, figures 6-8)

Notre sélection représente 15,8% dès lot féminine total de l'industrie 2004 (N=500) (Radu, 2005: 33; Radu, 2011: 121). Concernant les valeurs moyennes de la sélection par rapport aux lots industriels 2004 de Bucarest et de pays (Radu,

2005:19-38; Vlădescu, 1999: 85)celles-ci se situent dans l'intervalle « $M \pm DS$ »(z), les femmes de la sélection ayant, moyennement, le poids et les circonférences thoraciques, abdominales et de hanches plus petites et la stature légèrement plus grande comparativement aux lots de Bucarest 1999 et 2004, toutes les différences pas significatives statistiquement (Tableau 4, figures 6-7). Par rapport au lot des femmes urbaines de Milici (Bucarest et les voisinages, la collection de données étant effectuée quelques années plus tôt de la publication du travail), qui a un volume approché ($N=78$), selon le test Student, nos femmes se ressemblent aux celles-ci par le poids et la circonférence des hanches, sont significativement plus petites par la stature ($1598,48: 1624,9$, $t = -2,78$) et plus développées par les circonférences thoracique ($t = 6,1$), abdominale ($t = 2,84$) et par la corpulence illustrée d'IMC ($t = 2,63$) (Milici, 2015: 47-70, 100-134).

Concernant l'indice de masse corporelle Quetelet, la valeur moyenne de ceci n'a pas été calculée pour les lots industriels 2004, les travaux se réfèrent seulement à la variabilité selon l'échelle d'OMS (Radu, Glavce, 2005: 19-38). Par rapport au lot total industriel de pays notre sélection enregistre statistique significativement (χ^2) plus de phénotypes dans la catégorie de normalité sur le total et selon l'âge et moins de phénotypes dans la catégorie de surpondéralité (Fig. 8).

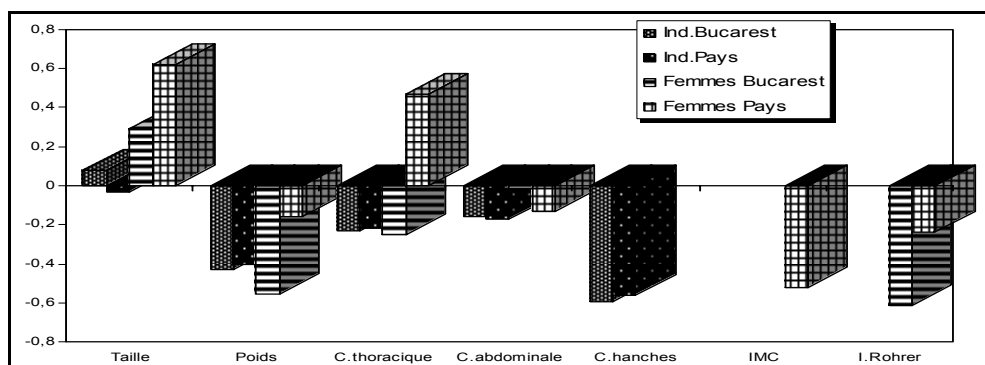


Fig. 6. Position de la sélection par rapport aux femmes de Bucarest et de pays (z).

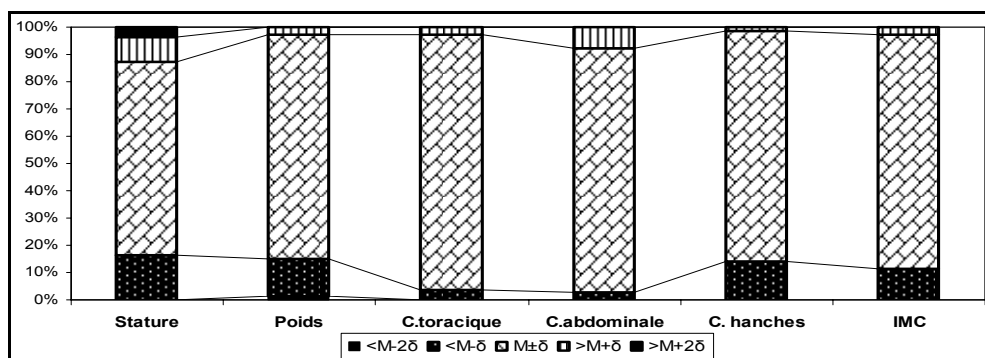


Fig. 7. Variabilité corporelle de la sélection par rapport aux données nationales (%).

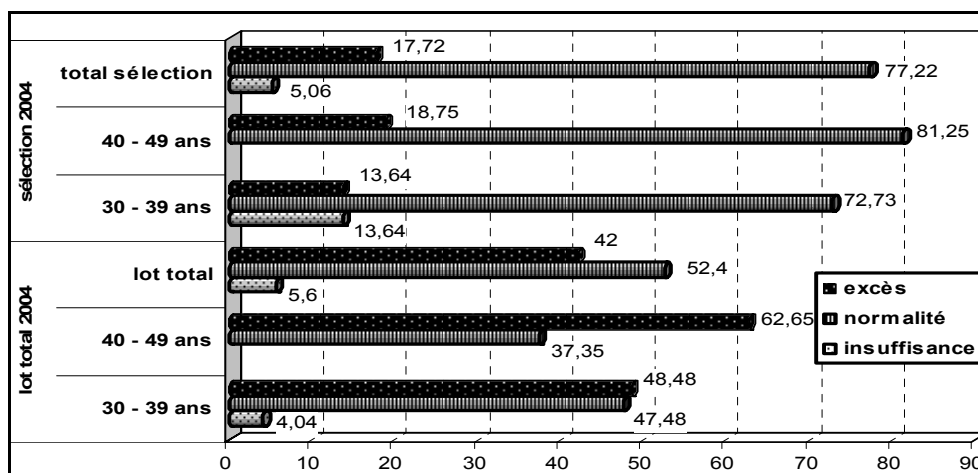


Fig. 8. Variabilité phénotypique du IMC de la sélection par rapport au lot total (%).

Par rapport aux données nationales de l'Atlas Anthropologique de la Roumanie, les femmes choisies d'Électroappareillage n'enregistrent pas, moyennement, des différences statistiquement significatives pour aucun caractère (z) (Tableau 4), mais on consigne des positions différentes de la valeur moyenne sur les échelles de variation pour la stature, l'indice Quetelet (IMC) et l'indice Rohrer. Les valeurs moyennes de notre sélection indiquent une stature grande au début de la catégorie, corpulence normale et implicitement eutrophie, alors que les données nationales cosignent une stature surmoyenne, une corpulence surpondérale au début et sureutrophie à la limite inférieure. (Radu, Glavce, Bulai-Știrbu, 2011: 78; Vlădescu, 1999: 83-92).

Tableau 4

Développement somatique des femmes du lot par rapport aux certaines données concernant les femmes de Bucarest et pays (z, t)

	Lot	Ind.Bucarest 2004		Ind.pays 2004		Femmes Bucarest '99		Femmes pays Atlas		Lot Milici 2015	
Caractère	(N= 79)	(N= 500)		sans N		(N= 534)		(N= 9916)		(N= 78)	
	M	M	z	M	z	M	z	M	z	M	t
Taille	1598,48	1593,72	0,08	1600	-0,03	1581,15	0,29	1562,95	0,62	1624,9	-2,78
Poids	58,25	63,96	-0,43	63,24	-0,4	65,29	-0,55	60,03	-0,16	58,07	0,17
C.thoracique	888,48	909,78	-0,23	908,87	-0,22	911,36	-0,25	851,01	0,47	832,5	6,1
C.abdominale	783,73	804,46	-0,16	806,93	-0,17	786,54	-0,02	796,8	-0,13	749,4	2,84
C.hanches	918,43	990,89	-0,59	982,47	-0,56					928,8	-1,1
IMC	22,79							25,01	-0,52	21,95	2,63
I. Rohrer	1,43					1,65	-0,61	1,56	-0,24		

CONCLUSIONS

L'échantillon féminine d'Électroappareillage sélectionnée par les auteurs dès lot industriel bucarestois de 2004 selon une appréciation subjective ectoscopique

d'une relative harmonie concernant l'accomplissement corporel se caractérise, moyennement, selon les limites des caractères anthropométriques considérés, par une stature grande, un thorax moyennement développé, une corpulence normale et un bon accomplissement corporel. Sur les échelles « classiques » de variation les femmes sont plus fréquemment hautes, faibles ou de corpulence moyenne, d'une normalité pondérale et une plénitude corporelle optimale.

Les valeurs moyennes des dimensions et des indices sont très approchées de moyennes nationales et de celles d'industrie du pays et les phénotypes individuels s'inscrivent prédominant dans l'intervalle « $M \pm DS$ ».

Ainsi, les résultats décrivent un « modèle corporel moyen » de la femme adulte occupée en industrie urbaine et viennent de prouver une sélection assez réussie après la méthode ectoscopique d'évaluation subjectiviste utilisée.

Nos gratitudee spécialement pour madame ingénieur Floarea Garagău, le dirigeant du secteur « Protection du travail » de S.C. « Electroappareillage » S.A., Bucarest, qui nous a assuré des conditions excellentes dans l'activité de collection des données.

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CONTRIBUTION A LA PRESERVATION DES SOURCES D'EAU DANS LE HAUT-ATLAS OCCIDENTAL (EXEMPLE: SOURCE DU VILLAGE IMIN-TALA)

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Résumé. Cette étude a pour objectif de comprendre comment le système symbolique attaché à l'eau incite les populations locales à adopter des comportements préservant cette ressource vitale. A cet effet, une enquête est menée auprès de 246 habitants de la vallée d'Anougal, lieu où la population conserve encore un mode de vie traditionnel. Les résultats obtenus montrent que la population utilise une diversité de croyances symboliques pour entretenir son rapport avec les sources d'eau. Par ailleurs, l'étude a révélé la capacité de ces croyances symboliques à préserver les sources d'eau dans la vallée, et ce suite à leur efficacité d'orienter les comportements de sorte qu'ils soient plus conformes au principe de prudence. Ainsi, la prise en compte du système symbolique des populations est primordiale pour toute action ou programme de développement destinés à protéger les ressources en eau.

Mots-clés : Croyances symboliques, population, sacré, Vallée Anougal, Haut-Atlas, préservation.

INTRODUCTION

Les populations traditionnelles¹, pour mieux être en harmonie avec leur milieu, ont élaborées un ensemble cohérent de savoirs écologiques traditionnels traduisant les divers modes d'utilisation modérée des ressources de la nature (Busquet 2006 ; Rabourdin 2005 : 60-63).

L'étude des savoirs écologiques traditionnels a montré qu'ils sont fondés entre autres sur un système de symboles dont fait partie l'univers des croyances qui reflète la

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¹ L'expression *sociétés traditionnelles* désigne toutes les sociétés ne présentant pas les caractéristiques des sociétés modernes et se caractérisent par la prédominance de la tradition comme source de valeurs dont dépend aussi bien l'organisation des rapports sociaux et la régulation des comportements des humains vis-à-vis de l'environnement (Rabourdin, 2005 : 37-38).

façon dont les populations se représentent le monde et se situent par rapport aux écosystèmes (Busquet 2006). Ce système symbolique peut donc être assimilé à une sorte d'éthique écologique locale rejetant la perception anthropocentrique du monde (Thomas 2011 ; Goldsmith 1994 : 83) et donnant ainsi aux ressources une dimension symbolique plus large que sa valeur utilitaire (Brelet 2012 : 69-72 ; Sanogo et Coulibaly 2003 ; Larrère, Larrère 1997 : 187).

Ainsi, le bien fondé de ce symbolisme réside dans le fait qu'il aidait l'homme à éviter la surexploitation de la nature et à vivre à l'intérieur des limites imposées par la disponibilité des ressources (Callicot 1994 ; McNeely 1993). À ce propos, Mongeau (1994 : 116) parle d'un style de vie qui, en empêchant toute propension à conquérir le monde, sauvera l'eau, les forêts, la végétation et le sol pour les générations futures. En d'autres termes, l'aspect symbolique des ressources incite les populations d'en nouer des relations fondées sur des notions comme la coopération, la prudence et la symbiose, par opposition aux valeurs d'un anthropocentrisme qui cherche plutôt la surexploitation et l'appropriation de la nature (Vachon 1983). Ainsi, toute action dégradante est perçue par les populations traditionnelles comme un manque de respect et un acte d'irresponsabilité à l'égard de la nature (Déroche 2008 : 61).

Dans le cas du Haut-Atlas, plusieurs chercheurs avancent que la référence à un système symbolique persiste encore (Mahdi et Dominguez 2009 ; Bonte 2001). Des références à des entités et forces spirituelles comme les *Djinns*², les *M'louks*³, les *Igourramens*⁴, la *Baraka*⁵, la *Tagate*⁶, l'*Maârouf*⁷ sont souvent mises en avant, en tant que croyances, pour entretenir les comportements humains vis-à-vis de la ressource en eau.

L'objectif de cette étude consiste donc à comprendre dans le contexte du Haut-Atlas occidental, comment les croyances symboliques contribuent-elles à générer des comportements qui pourraient conduire à la préservation des sources d'eau.

² Djinns, terme qui signifie des êtres invisibles que la population locale croit percevoir dans la nature. Ces créatures inspirent la crainte suite à leur pouvoir de nuire à quiconque ne respectant pas leurs endroits de résidence préférés.

³ M'louks, être spirituels très appréciés localement suite à leur pouvoir d'apporter soutien et appui aux hommes d'après les populations.

⁴ Igourramen, pluriel de « Agourram », désignent des personnages symboliques, réels ou mythiques, très vénérés dans le Haut-Atlas.

⁵ Baraka, terme utilisé localement pour faire référence à une sorte d'énergie vitale due aux influences du sacré et qui, se manifestant un peu partout dans la nature, symbolise l'abondance et la prospérité.

⁶ Tagate, singulier de Tirguine, est un terme utilisé localement pour désigner les sanctions et châtiments surnaturels.

⁷ Maârouf est un mot employé par la population pour faire référence à tout rite célébrée localement.

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODE

1. Zone s'étude

L'étude concerne la partie haute et moyenne de la vallée d'Anougal. Celle-ci est située sur le flanc nord du Haut-Atlas occidental à une distance de 70 kilomètres au sud de la ville de Marrakech (Fig. 1), comptait environ 5000 habitants répartis sur 24 villages (Aït Hmida et al. 2007). Ayant une longueur d'une vingtaine de kilomètres et une altitude comprise entre 1300 m à 2000 m, la vallée est drainée par l'oued Anougal qui constitue son principal cours d'eau à débits variables sur toute l'année. Le climat est de type méditerranéen avec une forte variabilité suivant les saisons, les années et les altitudes (Al-Ifriqui 1986). La pluviométrie moyenne est de 300 à 400 mm suivant les années.

Suite à la forte récurrence des sécheresses, les ressources en eau exploitables sont en général peu abondantes (Riad et al. 2006). L'eau d'irrigation est fournie soit par des résurgences de nappes phréatiques soit par des écoulements superficiels dont la pérennité dépend principalement de la quantité de neige occupant les hauteurs pendant la période hivernale. Cette eau, dérivée de l'*Assif*⁸ par une série d'*Ouggoug*⁹, est ensuite distribuée aux parcelles agricoles par un réseau de *Targa*. Le partage de l'eau entre les irrigants se fait conformément à un ensemble de règles sociales garantissant à la fois la solidarité du groupe et la répartition équitable de la ressource (Lecestre-Rollier 2006 ; Romagny et al. 2008). A cet effet, la communauté est organisée sur des fondements de caractère à la fois profane et sacré (Mahdi 2007 : 62). Ainsi, sur le plan profane, la *L'jmaâ*¹⁰ est l'institution chargée de produire et négocier les règles de répartition de l'eau, de désigner les *Amazzal*¹¹ en temps de pénurie et d'organiser la *Tiwizi*¹² à chaque fois que l'infrastructure hydraulique nécessite des entretiens et aménagements (Romany et Riaux 2007). Relativement au sacré, il convient de noter que le territoire de la vallée est éparpillé de plusieurs tombeaux d'*Igourramens*. Ces personnages mythiques sont peu nombreux à l'échelle du village, mais au niveau de chaque aire sociohydraulique au moins un *Agourram* est rencontré. A côté du tombeau de celui-ci, un rituel est organisé au moins une fois par an et donnant lieu à un

⁸ Assif, terme vernaculaire utilisé localement pour signifier le cours d'eau principal.

⁹ Ouggoug, correspond à un barrage construit à partir de matériaux rudimentaires locaux. D'orientation oblique au sens d'écoulement des eaux, ce barrage sert à dévier les eaux du cours d'eau principal vers les Tirguines.

¹⁰ L'jmaâ est une assemblée traditionnelle chargée de coordonner les affaires culturelles et les actions socioécologiques des communautés villageoises dans le Haut-Atlas.

¹¹ Amazzal, personne désignée par la communauté pour faire respecter les règles de partage de l'eau édictées par la Jmaâ [14]. Il s'agit d'une sorte de police de l'eau qui se met en activité pendant l'été, période d'étiage des cours d'eau dans le haut-atlas.

¹² Tiwizi, terme utilisé localement pour désigner l'engagement de la communauté villageoise ou inter-villageoise pour accomplir des activités nécessitant une mobilisation de moyens, de personnels et du temps qui dépasse les capacités restreintes de l'individu ou du ménage.

Maârouf auquel l'ensemble des villageois de la zone est convié. Les rituels ainsi célébrés sont une occasion pour renouveler le lien social unissant les usagers de la ressource en eau (Rachik 1990 : 60-90). Ainsi, à la suite de cette subtile organisation, même les conflits s'éclatant autour d'eau en période d'étiage sont devenus une occasion pour renégocier d'autres arrangements et compromis afin de mieux partager équitablement la pénurie entre les irrigants (Lecestre-Rollier 2006).

Quant à l'eau de consommation, la majorité de la population s'en approvisionne à partir des forages alimentant les ménages via un réseau d'adduction, récemment mis en place par l'implication des associations locales de développement.

Les activités productives des populations reposent sur une exploitation complémentaire des différentes ressources du territoire comme les pâturages d'altitude, les forêts et les terres arables. Ce qui correspond à une stratégie locale de gestion des aléas climatiques dont dépend intimement la disponibilité de l'eau dans cet endroit de montagne (Carrigues-Cresswell et Leicester-Rollier 2001). Ainsi, l'agriculture, étant largement de type vivrière, est pratiquée principalement sur des terrasses artificielles irriguées et sur des terrains en bour réservés uniquement aux cultures pluviales. Le pastoralisme, quoiqu'aujourd'hui a perdu de son importance, reste une activité encore présente dans la vallée. Presque la majorité des ménages possède un effectif de petits ruminants (caprins et ovins) relativement modeste. Ce genre d'élevage pastoral est à plus d'un titre d'une valeur très estimée localement. Ainsi, par cette activité, les populations arrivent à mieux valoriser la biomasse végétale des pâturages et à produire suffisamment de fertilisants organiques pour les terres arables. De surcroît, le petit bétail constitue pour le villageois une véritable caisse d'épargne utilisable à la moindre occasion.

Toutefois, l'exiguïté des surfaces agricoles, le surpâturage, la coupe de bois et la rareté d'eau constituent des contraintes qui fragilisent la bio-productivité de l'agro-écosystème local. Ce qui amenuise les conditions d'existence des populations locales en les contraignant de rester dans une situation de précarité (Aït Hmida et al. 2007). Pour remédier à cette situation, des actions de développement hydro-agricoles ont été menées par des organismes publics. Parmi celles-ci figurent l'aménagement des *Targa* et l'introduction d'une arboriculture fruitière destinée au marché (El Faïz 1999). A ceux-ci s'ajoute la promotion des associations locales de développement et la création d'une association des usagers d'eau agricole (AUEA). De telles structures associatives modernes cherchent à organiser la gestion de l'eau de consommation et l'eau agricole de manière à garantir la participation financière des populations locales (Romany et Riaux 2007).

Le choix de ce milieu se justifie par le fait qu'il est parmi les rares régions du Haut-Atlas où la population conserve encore un mode de vie traditionnel et une représentation du monde largement exprimée au travers d'une panoplie de croyances symboliques.

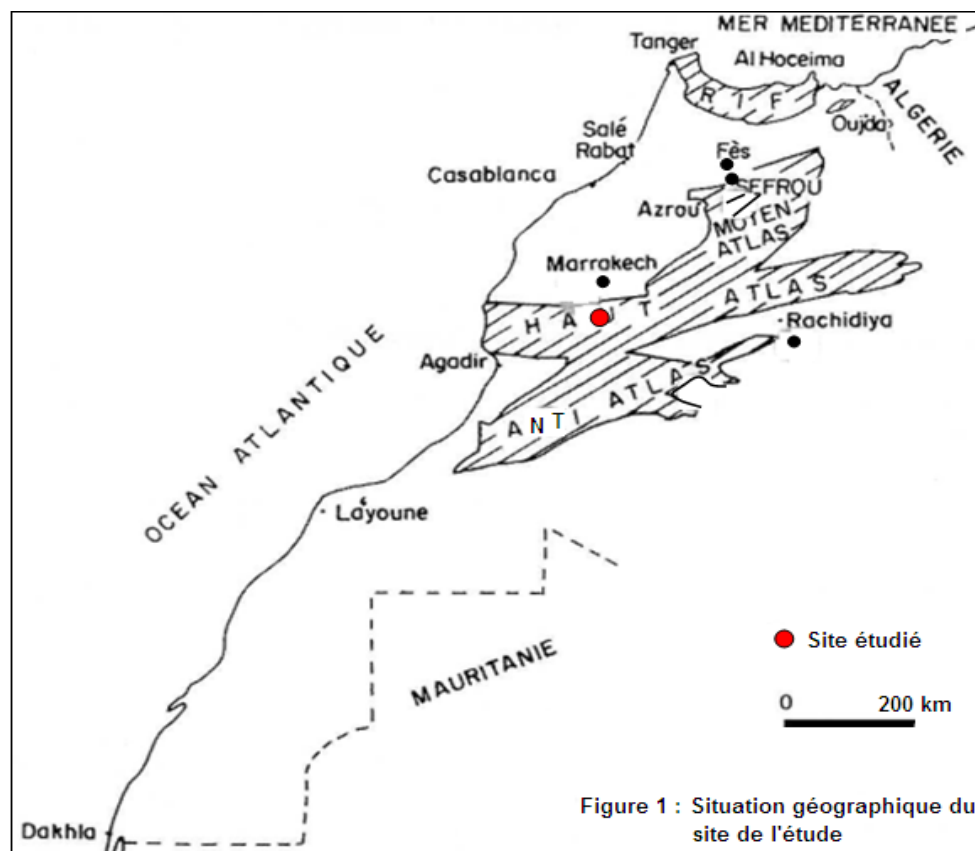


Fig. 1. Situation géographique du site étudié.

2. Population étudiée

L'échantillon de la population consultée est de 246 individus, habitants des 19 villages occupant la partie haute et moyenne de la vallée d'anougal. Notre échantillon est réparti selon le sexe de l'enquête et sa classe d'âge (Tableau 1). L'intérêt de ces deux variables est respectivement lié au fait de faire ressortir l'approche genre, d'une part, et de mettre en exergue les mutations socioculturelles qui pourraient exister entre les générations de cette population, d'autre part. Cet échantillon présente un faible pourcentage de femmes et des individus des classes d'âges de 18-39 et au-delà de 65 ans. Ceci s'explique, à propos des femmes, pour des raisons culturelles empêchant celles-ci de se présenter aux personnes étrangères aux villages. Concernant les jeunes d'âge inférieur à 40 ans, la raison est due vraisemblablement à l'émigration que choisie cette catégorie sociale pour des objectifs ayant attiré à la poursuite des études et la recherche du travail. Pour les personnes dépassant les 65 ans, le faible taux représentatif semble être lié à une tendance générale au rajeunissement caractérisant la démographie locale.

Tableau 1
Répartition de la population par classe d'âge et par sexe

Variables	Echantillon	
	Effectif	%
Classes d'âge		
18-39	70	28.5
40-64	112	45.5
65 et plus	64	26
Sexe		
Hommes	175	71.1
Femmes	71	28.9
Total	246	100

ANALYSE DES DONNÉES

Les données collectées sont de nature qualitative et quantitative. Elles concernent les éléments symboliques présents dans la zone étudiée ainsi que les croyances en rapport avec les sources d'eau. La collecte est faite par voie de questionnaires, d'entretiens semi-directifs et par l'observation directe. Au moyen de l'observation nous avons pu appréhender plusieurs conduites que la population adopte à l'égard de l'eau des sources. Les entretiens sont surtout réservés aux personnes âgées réputées par leur riche mémoire ethno-hydrologique recelant divers aspects symboliques de l'eau (mythes, rituels, contes, poésie, adages...). Par les questionnaires, c'est l'ensemble de l'échantillon qui a été consulté.

Les enquêtes sont amenés à donner une ou plusieurs réponses pour chacune des questions d'investigation synthétisées en variables dichotomiques. Les réponses aux différentes questions sont évaluées selon une approche statistique usuelle par le logiciel SPSS version 18. Selon les besoins d'analyse, les pourcentages de réponses ont été calculés soit par rapport à la totalité de l'échantillon soit en fonction de chacune des deux catégories de population choisies (genre et classes d'âge).

RÉSULTATS

1. Manifestations du symbolisme dans la zone

A partir de nos observations du terrain et les dires des populations locales, nous avons repérés la présence d'un ensemble d'éléments de dimension surnaturelle. Il s'agit notamment de parcelles de terre, personnages, édifices, points d'eau et de ravins qui sont considérés comme des entités très vénérées et dotant par ce fait d'un aspect hautement symbolique, sacré¹³ dit-on (Fig. 2 et Tableau 2). Le caractère

¹³ Le sens du sacré dont il est question ici ne renvoie pas à une quelconque dévotion religieuse. Il s'agit plutôt d'une notion reflétant une certaine vision holistique du monde selon laquelle l'humain,

sacré de telles entités s'explique par des raisons spirituelles selon les perceptions des populations locales. Ainsi, si pour les *Igourramens* la sacralisation est due à leur pouvoir de donner la *Baraka* et d'infliger la *Tagate*, celle-ci est attribuée à la présence des *Djinns* et *M'louks* dans d'autres endroits dits sacrés. Ce qui explique pour quoi dans l'imaginaire des populations, ces endroits sacrés sont dotés de pouvoirs mystiques et possédant des propriétés curatives.

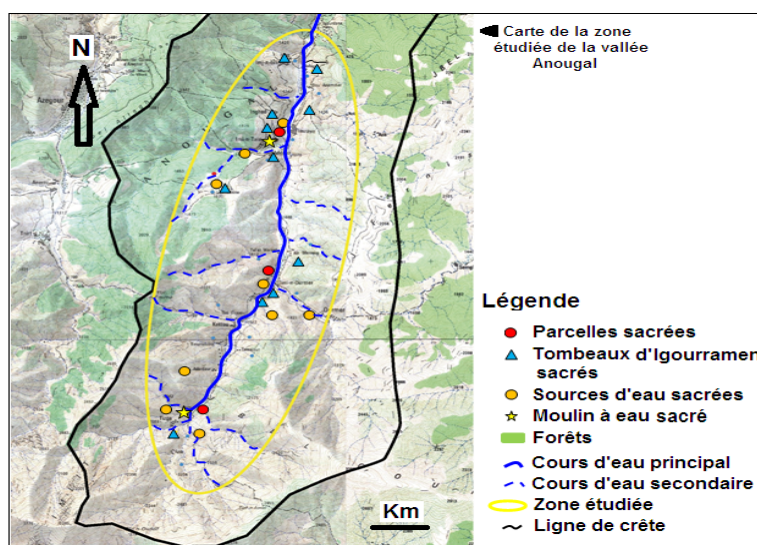


Fig. 2. Lieux et points d'eau dits sacrés dans la zone étudiée de la vallée d'Anougal.

Tableau 2
Répartition des éléments réputés par leur caractère sacré selon les villages

Villages	Tombeau Agourram	Source d'eau	Parcelle de terre	Ravins	Moulin à eau
Imin-Issly	+ (1)	+ (1)			
Inghed	+ (2)	+ (1)			
Imin-Tala	+ (1)	+ (1)	+ (1)		+ (1)
Dou-Anamer	+ (1)	+ (1)			
Infagh	+ (1)				
Tilfitine	+ (1)	+ (1)			
Imi-Ourmer	+ (1)	+ (1)	+ (1)		
Oussoul	+ (1)				
Talat n Ouarg				+ (1)	
Ait Merzoug	+ (1)				
Tamalout	+ (1)				
Tizgua	+ (1)	+ (2)	+ (1)	+ (2)	+ (1)

(+) : Présence ; (n) : Nombre repéré.

le naturel et le spirituel sont intimement liés par des interrelations fondées sur l'harmonie et l'équilibre (Larrère 2014).

2. Perceptions par rapport à la source sacrée du village Imin-Tala

2.1. Origine du sacre de la source

La source d'Imin-Tala est une résurgence d'eau souterraine ayant un écoulement pérenne. Celle-ci alimente une aire sociohydraulique composée de 6 villages et renfermant divers éléments sacrés (Fig. 3). L'aspect sacré de la source est d'origine diverse selon les perceptions des populations consultées (Tableau 3). Il provient essentiellement de la présence des *Djinns* et *M'louks* qui s'y séjournent, de sa propriété d'être dotée à l'instar des humains d'une âme et, enfin, en raison du fait qu'elle soit imprégnée d'une forte charge de la *Baraka* que lui confère l'*Agourram Arregrag*, le personnage le plus honoré par les habitants et auquel on attribue la pérennité et la protection de cette source. Toutefois, ces perceptions sont beaucoup plus prononcées chez les femmes par rapport aux hommes, et ont tendance à s'affaiblir chez les personnes d'âge jeune.

A la suite de son aspect sacré, les populations croient que l'eau de la source possède des pouvoirs très particuliers. Elle peut selon les dires donner ou retenir la *Baraka* comme elle est en mesure de sanctionner les comportements déviants en infligeant la *Tagate*.

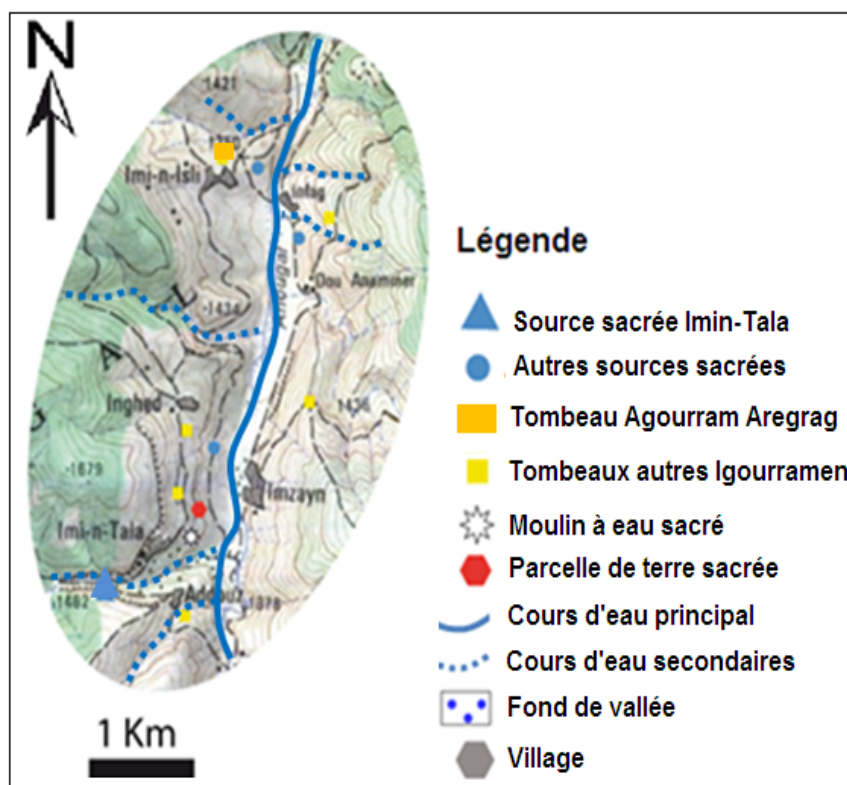


Fig. 3. Aire sociohydraulique de la source Imin-Tala.

Tableau 3
Réponses relatives à la perception de la population concernant l'origine
de l'aspect sacré de la source Imin-Tala

Variables	Réponses des populations enquêtées : effectif (%)		
	Demeure pour les Djinns et M'louks	Baraka de l'Agourram Arregrag	Âme de la source
Classes d'âge			
18-39	57 (81)	22 (31.4)	51 (72.8)
40-64	108 (96)	72 (64.2)	103 (92)
65 et plus	61 (95.3)	55 (86)	61 (95.3)
Sexe			
Hommes	156 (89)	86 (49)	148 (84.5)
Femmes	70 (98.5)	63 (88.7)	67 (94.3)

2.2. Pouvoirs bénéfiques ou *Baraka* de la source

Selon les populations, la source d'Imin-Tala est reconnue par sa faculté à conférer la *Baraka* pour quiconque la sollicitant. Cette perception est relativement mieux exprimée chez les femmes que chez les hommes, soit respectivement 88.7% contre 73.1%. De même, celle-ci est soulignée par l'intégralité des personnes appartenant aux classes d'âge de 40-64 et 65 ans et plus, contre uniquement 21.4% de ceux de la classe d'âge 18-39. La source tire cette propriété au regard des habitants des influences positives de trois éléments de nature spirituelle. Il s'agit respectivement de l'âme dont est dotée la source (78%), puis de l'*Agourram Arregrag* qui veillait sur le territoire (68%) et finalement des *M'louks* ayant l'habitude de fréquenter le lieu de la source (55%).

À la suite de ce pouvoir, les habitants de la vallée confèrent à la source plusieurs bienfaits. En premier lieu, 65% croient à sa capacité de donner la santé par le fait de guérir certaines maladies. Ensuite, 60% pensent à son effet positif de rendre la fertilité aux femmes stériles et 44% de faciliter le mariage des autres. En dernier lieu, 35% disent qu'elle était bien sollicitée quand il s'agit de faire revenir au village toute personne disparue.

Les propos d'une femme réputée par sa riche mémoire sont révélateurs à ce titre. Celle-ci, en s'expliquant au sujet de la *Baraka* de la source, avance que « Dans le passé, la majorité des filles adultes et celles ayant la difficulté de trouver un mari venaient se faire submerger le corps dans l'eau du lac où surgissait la source d'Imin-Tala. Et c'est grâce à la *Baraka* de cette source qu'autrefois les mariages étaient fréquents dans la vallée ». Aussi, ajoute-t-elle, « En cas de maladie, on venait collecter une quantité d'eau de la source avant l'aube. Cet eau

sera ensuite utilisée comme médicament après avoir été déposée à l'intérieur du tombeau de l'Agourram Arregrag pendant au moins une journée ». De même, l'enquêtée souligne que « Si une femme voulait avoir des enfants ou quand on cherchait le retour d'un émigré après une longue disparition, la famille concernée organisait un Maârouf auprès de la source. Après la consommation du repas préparé à cette occasion, on demandait que soient réalisées les attentes au travers d'une invocation collective psalmodiée par tous les participants au rite ».

2.3. Pouvoirs maléfiques ou *Tagate* de la source

Suite à la vision des populations locales, la source d'Imin-Tala est très redoutée à cause de son aptitude à laisser s'exprimer sa vengeance, prenant la forme de *Tagate* contre les humains et leurs biens quand elle se sente offensée ou agressée. L'adhésion à une telle perception est plus avérée chez les femmes (87%) et parmi les plus âgés (64% pour la classe d'âge de 40-64 ans et 86% pour les 65 ans et plus). Alors qu'elle est relativement faible chez les hommes (47%) et les personnes âgées de 18-39 ans (26%). A ce pouvoir maléfique, les populations ont tenté de percevoir diverses origines. Ainsi, 60% des répondants attribuent l'origine de ce pouvoir maléfique à l'*Agourram Arregrag*, 54% à *Dieu* et 43% restant aux *Djinns* ; trois forces spirituelles perçues comme des gardiens des lieux ayant légué à la source une partie de leurs pouvoirs d'infliger des sanctions aux humains et leurs biens.

La *Tagate* de la source ainsi soulignée pourrait se traduire, entre autres, en sept formes de conséquences redoutables d'après les avis des enquêtés. Il s'agit généralement de l'érosion des sols agricoles (75%), de la disparition de la *Baraka* des biens possédés (70%), des sécheresses qui s'abattaient régulièrement sur la région (68%), de la perte des récoltes (56%), des crues dévastatrices (43%), des maladies (40%) et enfin de la mort du bétail (36%). Bref, des malheurs qui pourraient mettre en péril les conditions d'existence de l'individu voir même la survie du groupe quand celles-ci deviennent généralisées.

A ce titre, un enquêté âgé de 115 ans affirme ceci : « Dans les années 70, une dure sécheresse s'installa dans la région. Les habitants de la plaine en aval ayant mené une offensive contre nous pour détourner injustement l'eau de la source Imin-Tala vers leurs champs ont été la cible de *Tagate* de la source. Au moment de ce dur conflit, alors que nous sommes entrain de défendre notre source, un descendant de l'*Agourram Arregrag* a vivement invoqué l'intervention de celui-ci. Juste après quelques instants, une sombre tempête accompagnée d'un violent lancement de pierres qui ciblait les agresseurs se déclencha. Ainsi, étant horrifiés par cet événement, ceux-ci ont pris la fuite malgré leur effectif ainsi que les moyens

et les relations au makhzen¹⁴ dont ils disposaient ». Un autre répondant estime, quant à lui, qu'« Aujourd'hui, même nous, les propriétaires de la source, nous avons commencé à subir la Tagate à cause des fréquentes querelles qui se déclenchent autour de l'eau depuis l'introduction du pommier dans la vallée. Car, durant la saison d'été où l'eau se fait rare, tout le monde veut avoir plus d'eau pour ses pommiers, ce qui conduit certains à vouloir ignorer les décisions de L'jmaât au profit des propositions des nouvelles associations qui dévalorisent la sagesse des anciens. C'est pourquoi, les problèmes apparaissant à cause de Tagate nous inquiètent. L'érosion et les sécheresses sont devenues sévères, le bétail n'est plus productif et l'argent obtenu du pommier ne couvre pas les besoins quotidiens de nos familles ».

3. Implication des croyances *Baraka* et *Tagate* dans la préservation de la source

3.1. La *Baraka* et les comportements par rapport à la source

D'après les populations, la source ne peut octroyer la *Baraka* que si des conditions sont bien respectées. Pour ce fait, les réponses obtenues font référence à trois types de comportements à adopter rigoureusement vis-à-vis de la source d'eau. Ainsi, 60% pensent à l'interdiction de polluer l'eau, 57% à l'évitement des conflits sur cette ressource et les 51% au respect des rites traditionnellement dédiés à l'*Agourram Arregrag*. A défaut, dit-on, la source cesse de délivrer généreusement sa *Baraka*.

Pour justifier les trois comportements, trois principales raisons ont été avancées à travers des récits que recèle la mémoire collective des habitants (Tableau 4). Ainsi, il paraît que la communauté, en s'imposant de tels comportements, cherche à garder de bons rapports avec les forces spirituelles dont dépend la *Baraka* de la source, d'une part. D'autre parts, de traiter avec délicatesse l'eau de la source qui est dotée d'une sensibilité, c'est-à-dire d'une âme ne tolérant pas les disputes et conflits autour de l'eau, souligne-t-on le plus souvent à anougal. A ce propos, un contre est souvent citée, mais par des femmes âgées généralement. D'après celles-ci « *Un intense conflit a eu lieu entre les ayants droit de la source Imin-Tala et les habitants de la plaine en aval qui revendiquaient des droits sur l'eau de cette source. Durant cet affrontement ayant fait plusieurs blessés, trois morts et de graves dégâts matériels, la source était très touchée dans son âme. Ne supportant pas cette injustice, celle-ci a fait jaillir une eau ayant une couleur ocre, une odeur piquante à la gorge et un débit faible pendant toute la durée du conflit* ».

¹⁴ Makhzen, terme historiquement utilisé par les populations pour faire référence à l'appareil administratif de l'Etat et ses représentants locaux.

Tableau 4

Justifications des comportements à adoptés afin d'obtenir la *Baraka* de la source Imin-Tala

Comportements tolérables	Justifications des comportements
Respecter les rites qui sont dédiées par les ancêtres à l' <i>Agourram Arregrag</i> .	Afin de susciter la faveur et la <i>Baraka</i> de l' <i>Agourram</i> dont dépend largement la pérennité de la source.
Eviter les conflits sur l'eau de la source.	Pour ne pas offenser l'âme de la source qui ne supporte pas les querelles et les disputes. Car, on cas de conflit, la source peut réagir en retenant sa <i>Baraka</i> ou en cessant de jaillir abondamment.
Ne pas polluer l'eau de la source.	Pour ne pas déranger les <i>M'louks</i> , êtres spirituels fréquentant la source et dont celle-ci tire une grande part de ses pouvoirs bénéfiques. Ces êtres sont susceptibles de désertir le lieu de la source quand l'eau devienne impropre.

3.2. La *Tagate* et les comportements par rapport à la source

Pour ne pas s'attirer la *Tagate* de la source, la population fait référence à cinq types de comportements qu'il ne faut pas sous estimer. Suivant les réponses recueillies, ceux-ci sont relatifs à l'interdiction du gaspillage de l'eau (100%), l'obligation de respecter les règles de son partage (88%), la condamnation de toute action pouvant dégrader le réseau hydraulique surtout les *Targa et Ouggoug* (84%), l'indispensable respect des décisions de *L'jmaât* (67%) et enfin à la participation aux *Tiwizi* concernant surtout les travaux hydrauliques (38%).

Les arguments mobilisés pour justifier de tels comportements sont représentés dans le **Tableau 5**. Les explications que ces arguments sous-entendent sont en rapport semble-t-il des préoccupations des populations locales. Il s'agit, tout d'abord, de l'utilité d'entretenir de bon relation de voisinage avec les *M'louks* et *Djinns* des lieux. A cet effet, toutes conduites susceptibles de dégrader l'eau par le gaspillage et de polluer les *Targa* en y déversant les déchets et toute autre matière nuisible sont prohibées. Ensuite, c'est la crainte de se voir éclater les conflits qui est la plus exprimée suite à leurs effets menaçant pour la cohésion de la communauté. D'où l'obligation de ne pas transgresser les règles et décisions de *L'jmaât* concernant la gestion d'eau et de participer activement aux travaux hydrauliques, organisés le plus souvent afin de corriger les dégâts des crues qui frappaient régulièrement la vallée.

Tableau 5

Justifications des comportements à adoptés afin d'éviter la *Tagate* de la source d'Imin-Tala

Type de comportements	Justification des comportements
Ne pas dégrader le réseau des <i>Targa</i>	Pour ne pas déranger les <i>M'louks</i> et <i>Djinns</i> qui prennent les <i>Targa</i> comme lieux de repos ou de séjour.
Ne pas gaspiller l'eau	Car d'autres êtres visibles et invisibles ont besoin de cette eau.
Respecter les règles de partage de l'eau	Pour éviter les conflits qui menacent la cohésion de la communauté.
Respecter les décisions de <i>L'jmaât</i>	
Participation aux travaux hydrauliques	La propriété du réseau hydraulique est collective et les efforts à dépenser pour son entretien sont énormes.

DISCUSSION

Dans la vallée d'anougal, les sources d'eau sont perçues comme des lieux dotés d'une dimension sacrée. Ce qui exige de les traiter conformément à un ensemble de comportements à ne pas transgresser. L'explication c'est que ces points d'eau sont imprégnés de forces invisibles envers lesquelles l'homme doit se comporter avec prudence afin de bénéficier de leur bienfaits et d'éviter leurs colères. Parmi ces forces, certaines étant attribuées aux *Igourramen* des lieux, d'autres sont relatives à la présence des êtres invisibles, *M'louks* et *Djinns*, dans ces endroits de l'eau.

De cet aspect sacré découle deux mécanismes symboliques qui paraient inciter les communautés locales à réguler leurs rapports des sources dites sacrées de sorte qu'ils soient conformes, pour citer Schweitzer (1936), à une éthique de révérence. Alors que le premier est relatif aux punitions surnaturelles (*Tagate*) que risquent les personnes adoptant des attitudes dégradantes vis-à-vis de l'eau des sources et leur réseau des *Targa*. Le deuxième fait allusion à la *Baraka*, richesse très sollicitée que l'individu ne peut avoir qu'à condition de traiter les sources avec respect en évitant tout comportement nuisible à leurs égards. Autrement dit, la *Baraka* correspond à un mécanisme de régulation incitant les usagers à limiter leurs impacts sur les ressources naturelles comme l'eau, créant par là les conditions dans lesquelles l'homme pourra maintenir le potentiel de leur renouvellement (Rahnema 2003 : 262). En effet, d'après cette perception locale, ni *Tagate* ne serait évitée ni la *Baraka* ne serait améliorée que si les populations entretiennent de bonnes relations à l'égard des sources d'eau et leurs réseaux hydrauliques.

Ainsi, les comportements tolérables localement pour obtenir la *Baraka* des sources d'eau et d'empêcher la *Tagate* qui peut en découler, peuvent être classés en deux catégories (Tableau 6). La première exprimant des actions individuelles à respecter correspond à l'idée de responsabilité écologique. Ce qui pourrait conduire à un mode d'utilisation de l'eau des sources incombant à chacun l'obligation de s'interdire des attitudes nuisibles à son égard. La deuxième catégorie reflète, paraît-il, la préoccupation des communautés locales à préserver leur cohésion. Un tel souci n'est probablement pas exempt de significations écologiques. En effet, l'exploitation durable des ressources du Haut-Atlas exige une forte cohésion des communautés villageoises (Garrigues-Cresswell 1994). L'entretien d'une telle cohésion est ainsi devenu indispensable. Ce qui se faisait régulièrement à travers la célébration des rituels à l'honneur des *Igourramen* des lieux (Garrigues-Cresswell 1994), d'une part. D'autre part, par le respect des décisions de *L'jmaât*, comité traditionnelle dont la fonction est d'entretenir l'organisation sociale au tour de l'eau par l'institution des règles de son partage, l'établissement des modalités de participation aux travaux hydrauliques et les procédures de règlement des conflits entre les usagers (Naciri 2009).

Tableau 6
Classification des comportements à retenir pour obtenir la *Baraka* et éviter la *Tagate* de la source d'eau.

Comportements vis-à-vis des sources d'eau	
Actions de responsabilité Ecologique	Actions renforçant la cohésion de la communauté
- Ne pas polluer l'eau - Ne pas gaspiller l'eau - Ne pas dégrader le réseau hydraulique.	- Respect des rituels dédiés aux <i>Igouramen</i> - Evitement des conflits sur l'eau - Respect des règles de partage de l'eau - Respect des décisions de <i>L'jmaât</i> - Participation aux travaux collectifs.

Dans cette zone de montagne, l'aspect sacré des sources d'eau reste sensiblement plus marqué chez les femmes que chez les hommes. Ce qui est attribuable d'un côté à une large place qu'occupent encore les rituels et leur cortège de croyances symboliques dans la vie des femmes au Maghreb (Virolle 2001 : 105). Dans un autre côté, cet attachement paraît davantage lié à l'intérêt que portent les femmes à la dimension symbolique de la vie agricole dans le Haut-Atlas. Car, à l'exception des activités techniques réservées en général aux hommes, ce sont les femmes qui se chargeaient d'accomplir la plupart des activités des rituels en étroite relation à la vie agricole (Rachik 2016 : 45-52). Ces rituels agraires, dont fait partie les rites de l'eau, correspond en fait à des moments où les femmes se mettaient au contact avec les êtres spirituels du terroir irrigué. Ces êtres, *Ait L'makan*¹⁵ dit-on, sont perçus comme des partenaires vis-à-vis desquels il faut garder de bonnes relations afin d'éviter leur colère et obtenir ainsi leur sympathie. Enfin, cette propension féminine au sacré peut s'expliquer par la récupération par les femmes du Haut-Atlas des rituels traditionnellement réservés aux hommes et aujourd'hui condamnés par ces derniers pour être qualifiés de *Bid'a*¹⁶ (Rachik 2016 : 53-69).

S'agissant des classes d'âge, les très jeunes ont tendance à sous-estimer le caractère sacré des sources d'eau contrairement aux personnes âgées. La persistance de cette perception chez ces derniers est paraît-il la résultante de leurs fortes connaissances ethno-hydrologiques, accumulées à partir de leur longue expérience et au travers des récits reçus de leurs prédécesseurs (Brelet 2012 : 73). De ce fait, les comportements des femmes et des personnes âgées vis-à-vis des sources d'eau ne paraissent pas être que bénéfiques au regard des exigences du principe de la préservation des ressources.

Toutefois, le système symbolique ayant montré son efficacité à préserver les sources d'eau en Haut-Atlas occidental reste fragile. Une tendance d'affaiblissement se dessine parmi la population qui commence à sous-estimer l'aspect sacré des

¹⁵ Terme utilisé par la population pour désigner les Djinns et M'louks à qui appartient le territoire.

¹⁶ Notion qui signifie toute croyance ou coutume qui ne s'appuie pas sur un précédent datant de l'époque du prophète de l'Islam (Rachik 2016 : 53-69).

sources d'eau. C'est ce qui a été relevé chez les personnes d'âge jeune qui sont sensiblement plus exposées aux influences des valeurs du monde moderne avec leurs implications sur le plan des attitudes et perceptions. Des comportements de gaspillage et de pollution d'eau commencent ainsi à apparaître. Divers endroits du réseau des *Targa* sont envahis par des déchets solides et par des rejets liquides domestiques, des pertes d'eau au niveau des canalisations et pendant l'irrigation des parcelles, des *Targa* et *Ouggoug* ne sont plus minutieusement entretenus comme il se doit, sont autant de problèmes d'eau dans la vallée qui sont vraisemblablement attribuable à l'affaiblissement du système de croyances symboliques.

Face à cette situation, aucune initiative de sensibilisation n'a été mise en place pour remplacer le système de croyance ancestral en déclin. Les quelques actions de développement hydro-agricole présentes sont plutôt destinées à la lutte contre la pauvreté des populations par la valorisation économique des ressources en eau. L'arboriculture, mode de production utilisé pour ce fait s'est même révélé incompatible avec les exigences de la préservation écologique des ressources hydriques. En effet, étant très exigeante en intrants chimiques polluants et ayant des besoins en eau énorme, cette activité paraît d'une empreinte eau non conforme aux potentialités de l'hydrosystème local. Les associations locales, quant à elles, sont des structures qui ne s'intéressent qu'aux aspects techniques de la gestion d'eau de consommation surtout. Les préoccupations d'ordre écologique sont complètement absentes de leur agenda.

CONCLUSION

Dans le Haut-Atlas, la croyance en la valeur sacrée des sources d'eau reflète combien dans la vision des populations locales l'homme est en dehors de se percevoir comme le maître cherchant à dominer la nature et ses ressources. Mais, il est plutôt un être habité par le souci de garder des rapports d'harmonie et d'équilibre avec les sources d'eau et les êtres invisibles de son territoire avec lesquels il fait famille.

Le sacré ainsi mis en évidence est comparable à une sorte d'éthique écologique que les populations ont su inventer afin de privilégier des relations de durabilité par rapport à l'eau et, par conséquent, de rejeter la vision anthropocentriste à effets dégradants sur les écosystèmes.

Etant forgée après un long contact avec la nature, cette éthique sous-entend un ensemble de connaissances, de règles et tabous, souvent codés sous forme de croyances symboliques qui se transmettaient entre les générations, si bien que la justification concrète de ce symbolisme n'est pas toujours évidente aux yeux des populations qui en sont les dépositaires. Dans ce cas, ce n'est pas l'individu qui adopte consciemment des comportements respectueux de l'environnement. Mais, ce sont plutôt les croyances de sa communauté qui l'incite à développer des modes d'action qui le conduisent à agir avec prudence vis-à-vis des ressources naturelles.

Ainsi, il serait bénéfique pour des raisons de durabilité de revaloriser le symbolisme des populations locales et de faire en sorte qu'il soit protégé contre les mutations socioculturelles en cours. Une synergie entre les agents de développement, les chercheurs et les populations locales est ainsi indispensable dans ce sens. Cela paraît d'autant plus crucial dans les pays en voie de développement où la relation entre les croyances et la gestion des ressources demeure encore très étroite.

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MIGRATION HUMAINE ET DESTRUCTURATION DES SITES ARCHEOLOGIQUES: CAS DE LA REGION DE BONOUA EN COTE D'IVOIRE

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Résumé. L'impact de l'installation des individus ayant migré (étrangers) sur des sites archéologiques n'apparaît suffisamment pas dans la littérature. Le présent travail se propose d'examiner l'influence de la migration humaine étrangère sur la déstructuration des sites archéologiques locaux. Il porte sur treize (13) sites archéologiques sélectionnés occupés par quatre (04) villages à Bonoua en Côte d'Ivoire dont 5 sites d'inhumations, 4 espaces culturels et 4 lieux de cultes ancestraux. L'observation directe, à travers un journal de terrain, et indirecte, à l'aide d'un appareil photographique, a permis d'explorer les niveaux de déstructuration des sites enquêtés.

Les résultats montrent que les populations ayant migré sur les sites archéologiques de 1890 à 1912 et de 1912 à 1970 déstructurent plus de sites d'inhumations (cimetières), soit 23,07%, que d'espaces culturels et de cultes (15,38%). Celles s'y étaient installées entre 1836 et 1890, détruisent autant de cimetières (15,38%) que d'espaces culturels et religieux (15,38%). L'occupation étrangère des sites archéologiques pourrait donc exercer un effet négatif sur les mémoires de l'existence humaine.

Mots-clés: déstructuration, mémoire ancestrale, paléanthropologie, migration, archéologie.

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INTRODUCTION

La mémoire relative à l'existence de l'homme aurait sa source dans chacun des lieux habités par ce dernier, c'est-à-dire le site archéologique. Celui-ci, à mesure du temps, est loin de se conserver dans sa structure initiale. Ce processus de modification du site de vie ancestrale renvoie à ce que l'on pourrait appeler la déstructuration du site archéologique. Selon Papadopoulos (1997), elle désigne une perturbation ou un dommage subis par les objets, les réalisations et les traces du passé, par une occupation humaine du site les contenant. Elle est de ce point de vue, la dégradation du paysage, des vestiges et des fossiles par l'activité humaine (Trément, 2013). La déstructuration du site archéologique serait donc la destruction des vestiges et des fossiles, notamment les habitats, les lieux ou édifices de culte, les tombes, les cimetières, les restes d'êtres ayant vécu sur ce site par les populations.

La destruction de la mémoire du passé pourrait être d'autant le résultat de l'action de ces dernières que, selon Demaze (2008), les espaces aménagés ou prévus pour les communautés vivantes sédentaires sont loin de supporter la croissance démographique de celles-ci. La dégradation de ces lieux ancestraux pourrait être plus accentuée, si les individus qui s'y installent sont, comme l'indique Dewar (2015) moins informés de l'emplacement de ces sites archéologiques, notamment des personnes qui y ont migré. En d'autres termes, la déstructuration des sites archéologiques, outre la vie sédentaire, est susceptible d'être également influencé par la migration humaine. Bouquet (2003), définit celle-ci comme un déplacement d'une population d'un territoire à un autre pour des raisons existentielles. Ce déplacement se réalise généralement sur une aire, ethno-géographique nouvelle (Marguerat, 1981). Sous cet angle, la migration humaine apparaît comme une installation des populations dans une zone qui se révèle inoccupée, notamment des sites abandonnés. Ainsi, la vie sur ces deniers impliquerait tant des aménagements, des constructions d'habitats que des activités agricoles de subsistance. L'ensemble de ces actions anthropiques nécessaires à une réoccupation de ce lieu pourrait être préjudiciable à la structure de ce dernier, en l'occurrence le site archéologique.

Les phénomènes socio-environnementaux qui ont une influence sur ces déstructurations ont fait l'objet de diverses études. Petri cité par Raumolin (1984) a montré que l'occupation des espaces, notamment la colonisation, entraîne la destruction significative des cultures et des civilisations locales. Lavallée (2011), dans une étude explicative menée au Pérou portant sur trois sites incas, indique que la croissance démographique ne favorise pas la conservation des sites de vie ancienne. Dans cette optique, Chemsseddoha (2014) isole les activités agricoles comme influençant négativement l'intégrité des restes osseux humains des tombes anciennes.

De ce qui précède, il apparaît que, dans l'étude de l'influence des actions humaines sur la structure des sites d'existence ancestrale, celle exercée par les individus ayant migré sur de tels sites ne semble pas avoir été suffisamment étudiée. Le présent travail se propose d'examiner l'influence de la migration humaine sur la destruction du site archéologique.

MÉTHODOLOGIE

1.1. Echantillon

La présente étude s'intéresse à la question de l'influence de la migration humaine sur la détérioration des mémoires relatives à l'existence humaine. Elle porte sur quatre villages de populations migrées qui vivent sur soixante-treize (73) sites archéologiques sélectionnés dans la zone de Bonoua en Côte d'Ivoire dont 36 sites d'inhumations, 22 espaces culturels et 15 lieux de cultes ancestraux. En effet, Bonoua est l'une des agglomérations du sud ivoirien qui se caractérise par une population venue de la Gold Coast (Ghana ancien) installée sur des sites susceptibles de nous renseigner sur le passé des populations ivoiriennes, en l'occurrence les côtes du golfe de Guinée. Cette population vit dans des villages construits à proximité du fleuve Comoé et est majoritairement composée du peuple Abouré dont les Ehivê, répartis dans les localités de Bonoua, Adiaho et Impérié, et les Ehê du village de Yaou.

Ces populations de Bonoua occupent des anciens sites d'inhumations, lieux d'habitations anciens, cultes ancestraux et culturels, marqués respectivement par des ossements humains et ustensiles de cuisines faits en céramique. Ces sites issus de Bonoua seraient d'autant des mémoires du passé ivoirien que, selon Kouassi (2014) ils portent des informations du XV^{ème} siècle. Ainsi, les sites de la région examinée ont été identifiés à partir de l'histoire des déplacements, des éléments matériels témoins des activités des populations ayant occupé ces sites.

En outre, des personnes vivant dans ces villages et suffisamment informées sur le peuplement de la zone ont été considérés comme des sources indiquées. Cette opération a permis de sélectionner, comme des sources d'informations appropriées, 14 personnes originaires desdits villages. Ces dernières ont un âge compris entre 59 et 82 ans. Ce sont des chefs de grandes familles, de clans et des autorités dans les classes d'âges et notables, ainsi que les autorités locales (mairie). L'ensemble de ces sujets sont originaires de la région de Bonoua.

En référence aux critères d'inclusion et de non inclusion énumérés, nous avons retenu 14 personnes issues de quatre (4) villages et soixante-treize (73) sites archéologiques. Identifiés dans ces villages. Ces personnes et sites constituent l'échantillon sur lequel porte l'étude.

1.2. Méthodes

L'étude réalisée est de type explicatif portant sur la destruction des sites archéologiques en rapport avec la migration humaine. Pour ce faire, outre une fouille bibliographique, un questionnaire comprenant huit (8) items soumis aux responsables des villages installés sur des sites d'occupations humaines anciennes dans la région de Bonoua au sud de la Côte d'Ivoire à proximité de la frontière ghanéenne. Cette double opération a permis de sélectionner quatorze (14) individus issus des villages et soixante-treize (73) sites archéologiques.

Une série d'entretien a été organisée avec deux autorités administratives de la région de Bonoua dont le premier adjoint au maire et le chef du service technique de la mairie ainsi qu'avec certains responsables coutumiers des villages retenus en l'occurrence des chefs de grandes familles, de clans et des autorités dans les classes d'âges et notables. L'application de cette technique a offert l'opportunité de collecter des informations relatives à l'histoire du peuplement, de l'occupation et de l'organisation de l'espace, à identifier des espaces culturels, d'inhumations ancestraux. Dans la localité de Bonoua, 28 cimetières, 14 espaces culturels et 7 lieux de culte ont été répertoriés. Trois (3) de chaque catégorie de ces vestiges dans la zone d'Impérie, 2 cimetières, 2 espaces culturels, 2 lieux de culte à Yaou, 3 cimetières, 3 espaces culturels et 3 lieux de culte dans la localité d'Adiaho ont été listés.

Outre ces entretiens, une observation directe pédestre, au moyen d'un appareil photographique et d'une fiche de notation, a donné l'occasion de constater et d'identifier les éléments matériels structurant les sites d'occupations anciennes et d'enregistrer les différentes dégradations de ces sites. Les données provenant des entretiens ont fait l'objet d'analyse de contenu. Les informations révélées par l'examen et celles obtenues, à l'issue des opérations d'observation, se présentent sous forme de données qualitatives, c'est-à-dire des fréquences. Celles-ci ont été traitées par le test statistique de khi² avec un seuil de signification inférieur à 0,05.

RÉSULTATS

La présente étude se propose d'explorer les différents niveaux de destruction des sites paléoanthropologiques selon les migrations humaines. Les observations faites, dans ce sens, auprès des populations migrées dans la région de Bonoua au sud de la Côte d'Ivoire (les abouré Ehivê) apportent quelques éléments de réponse. L'on note, à Bonoua, la capitale régionale, que les vagues de migrations de populations étrangères ont engendré, suivant le nombre de successions d'occupations des sites par ces dernières, la dégradation de cimetières, des espaces culturels et des lieux de cultes. Ainsi, les Abouré de Bonoua (Les Ehivê), dans leurs différentes vagues migratoires (7 vagues), allant de 1730 à 1970 ont déstructuré au total 4 cimetières, 2 espaces culturels et 1 lieu de culte, qui représentent respectivement 57.14%, 28.58% et 14.29% des sites paléontologiques (confère le tableau I, figures 1 à 5).

L'effet négatif des installations de populations venues d'ailleurs sur les espaces archéologiques ne semble pas être uniforme en passant d'une période de migration à l'autre. En effet, le niveau de déstructuration de cimetières au cours de la migration de 1850, relativement est équivalent à celui caractéristique de la migration qui s'est réalisée entre 1890 et 1968 (14,29% contre 14,29%). La proportion des espaces culturels détruits à Bonoua par les populations déplacées de 1885 se révèle également similaire à celle observée par l'occupation de 1900 (29% contre 29%). Le nombre de lieu de culte ancien déstructuré par les populations

installées en 1885 ne diffère pas à celui qui résulte des ruées de 1900 et 1968 (14,29% contre 0%) (confère le tableau I).

Dans la seconde localité étudiée, Impérié, aujourd'hui inclus dans le village de Bonoua, et situé sur l'axe Abidjan Bonoua, à l'entrée de la ville, trois flux migratoires (1890-1900, 1901-1905 et 1965-1970) se sont réalisés. En dehors des migrations de 1890 à 1900 et de 1965 à 1970, les déplacements de populations étrangères de 1901 à 1905 dans ce village ont destructurés un cimetière (soit 33.33%), un espace culturel (33.33%) et un lieu de culte (33.33%) (confère le tableau II, figures 6 et 7). Le troisième village examiné met en évidence quelques objets anciens détruits. Situé à 2 km à l'entrée sud de la ville de Bonoua, le peuple Abouré Ehê de Yaou se caractérise par deux phases migratoires. L'on note l'arrivée, dans la zone, de populations étrangères au début du XVIIIe (1701), et entre 1701 et 1935. L'installation de ces allogènes provoqué la désorganisation de l'intégrité originale d'un site d'inhumation ancien (soit 50%) et d'un lieu de culte (50%) (confère le tableau III, figure 8).

La dégradation du patrimoine ancestral se répète dans le village d'Adiaho, du fait des migrations de populations. Installé à 3.5 km au Nord-ouest de la ville de Bonoua, sur les bords du fleuve Comoé, Adiaho représente le premier village d'occupation étrangère de tous les groupes Abouré. Les habitants issus de ce village, appelés aussi Ehivê, ont été confrontés à trois grandes phases de migrations: 1660 à 1700, 1702 à 1836 et 1836 à 1964. Ces mouvements de populations ont causé la destructuration d'un ancien cimetière (soit 33.33%), d'un espace culturel (soit 33.33%) et d'un lieu de culte (soit 33.33%) (confère le tableau IV, figure 9).

En somme, même s'il n'existe pas de différence statistiquement significative entre les niveaux de destruction des sites archéologiques d'une période de migration à l'autre, l'on peut, néanmoins, noter que la migration et l'installation des populations dans les localités étrangères occasionnent parfois la destructuration des objets, témoins des vécus humains dans le temps et dans l'espace.

DISCUSSION

L'examen de l'influence de la migration humaine sur la destructuration des sites archéologiques a fait l'objet de la présente étude. Les observations faites dans ce sens auprès de villages subivoiriens abritant des migrants aboutissent à des résultats variables selon les sites. Les premières migrations de populations, en l'occurrence celles de XVIIIe siècle, ont détruit moins de sites ancestraux que les secondes, les déplacements des XIXe et XXe siècles (0% contre 33% environ) (confère les tableaux I, II, III et IV). Quoique l'analyse statistique ne conforte pas la différence entre les dégradations de sites archéologiques suivant les périodes de migrations, les résultats bruts ne peuvent passer sous silence. Ces derniers montrent

une destruction non négligeable d'une partie des mémoires de l'histoire humaine qui s'est déroulée dans cette zone sud de la Côte d'Ivoire par des migrants.

Des facteurs sont susceptibles d'apporter quelques réponses à l'effet de la migration sur le patrimoine ancestral. L'un des éléments est relatif à la non maîtrise de l'espace d'accueil. Il faut dire que les populations venues d'ailleurs n'ont suffisamment d'informations sur la zone d'immigration. Sous la pression du besoin de logement, elles tendent à occuper les sites, sans qu'elles ne prennent souvent le soin d'identifier les sites archéologiques à préserver. L'on pourrait observer chez ces populations une attitude à une installation forcée sur des territoires neutres, notamment les cimetières, les lieux de culte abandonnés, considérés comme n'appartenant à personne. Ainsi, ces espaces pourraient être réaménagés, restructurés en fonction des besoins de logement, d'alimentation, de protection, de sécurité, ou des normes d'habitat de ces populations qui y sont immigrées. Or, selon le ministère québécois de la Culture et des Communications (2014:10), les réaménagements, les restructurations des environnements de vie sont synonymes de destruction de déstructuration de ces espaces. De telles actions ne sont pas loin d'être préjudiciables à l'intégrité des objets archéologiques précédemment évoqués (cimetières, lieux de culte ou culturels). Le patrimoine ancestral détruit dans la région de Bonoua, observé dans le présent travail, illustre l'impact de la migration des populations sur la conservation des mémoires matérielles de l'existence humaine.

En d'autres termes, l'occupation de sites méconnus ne favorise donc pas la protection des témoins ancestraux. Cette imprudence dans l'appropriation de lieux inhabituels est d'autant accentuée chez les populations étrangères que celles-ci n'ont de rapports particuliers avec le passé des espaces qu'elles intègrent. Il faut dire que les sites paléoanthropologiques sont des endroits contenant les traces, les créations des ancêtres. Ils seraient considérés également comme des lieux dans lesquels ces premiers représentants du peuple continuent de vivre et d'assurer le bien-être, la sécurité de cette communauté. Interrogés à cet effet, des réponses vont dans cette optique. «Les cimetières sont sacrés, nos créateurs, nos anciens parents y vivent», affirment des patriarches de la localité de Bonoua. Ces relations spécifiques que les populations originaires des villages développent à l'égard des témoins de vie passée apparaissent dans les propos de la plupart des dépositaires des villages examinés. «Les cimetières sont ne sauraient être des lieux d'habitations des populations actuelles. Ils sont des espaces de vie de nos ancêtres, les fondateurs du village», affirme, le chef de village d'Adiaho. Il semble exister une relation de continuité directe entre des «ancêtres» et des habitats contemporains de tels villages. Chez les indigènes, ces comportements de conservation ou de protection des sites archéologiques tendent à montrer une sorte d'attachement secure à l'héritage local. À l'opposé des descendants des ancêtres de ces villages, les populations qui y sont immigrées n'auraient certainement pas des affinités avec ces lieux qui peuvent leur paraître anodins, quelconques ou communs à tout espace vivable. L'occupation immobilière, l'exploitation agricole nuisible des anciens lieux

d'habitation, d'ensevelissement, de culte par les populations déplacées trouveraient leur source dans la distance socio-culturelle et affective de ces migrants par rapport aux sites archéologiques locaux. Ces observations corroborent celles faites par Chenorkian (1982) concernant les rapports entre les populations allogènes et les sites archéologiques.

Cette dimension archéoanthropologique serait moins considérée par les populations à la recherche d'habitats, si les espaces socioculturellement autorisés sont insuffisants pour accueillir des étrangers. La destructuration du patrimoine ancestral de la localité hôte par les migrants aurait un autre facteur explicatif, l'incapacité à des territoires appropriés pouvant recevoir des populations nouvelles. En fait, les déplacés sont très souvent confrontés à des difficultés de logement et du refus des populations autochtones de les héberger, de leur trouver un toit. Il résulte une ruée de ces étrangers vers des sites, des espaces qui sont moins soumis à l'attention des premiers habitants des villages, notamment les cimetières, les lieux d'habitants anciens. Les tentatives pour rendre vivables ceux-ci pourraient entraîner la modification, la transformation, des matériels archéologiques qui s'y trouvent. La destructuration des sites archéologiques de la région de Bonoua par les migrants aurait un lien avec la recherche par ces derniers des lieux pour se loger et pour vivre. L'effet négatif des actions anthropiques de conquête spatiale sur la conservation des sites anciens constaté à Bonoua conforte les conclusions de l'étude réalisée par Simone (1997) à Essaouia au Maroc. L'auteur montre que l'expansion humaine exerce un impact significatif sur les ressources et sites anciens. A l'analyse, les déplacements de populations dans des régions étrangères pourraient être préjudiciables aux objets témoignant d'une existence humaine passée que contiennent ces espaces d'accueil.

CONCLUSION

La question étudiée est relative à l'influence de la migration humaine sur les sites archéologiques. L'examen de soixante-treize (73) sites anciens occupés successivement par des populations venues d'ailleurs apporte des réponses à cette préoccupation. La plupart des sites explorés présente des matériels archéologiques destructurés, quelle que soit la période de migration. Cette dénaturalisation des objets ancestraux concerne 19 % des sites d'inhumations, 15% des lieux de cultes et 15% des espaces culturels.

La migration serait donc nuisible à l'intégrité du patrimoine ancestral. En d'autres termes, les déplacements de population vers des milieux inhabituels pourraient accentuer la dégradation, la destructuration des mémoires de l'existence humaine. Toutefois, des études ultérieures portant sur un nombre important de sites d'occupation anciennes permettraient de conforter ou non les résultats obtenus dans le présent travail.

Tableau I

Comparaison de la proportion des sites déstructurés suivant les vagues de migration des populations Abouré Ehiwé à Bonoua de 1730 à 1968

Migration	Cimetières		Espaces culturels		Lieux de cultes	
	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)
1ere (1730-1740)		0/0%		0/0%		0/0%
2eme (1740-1775)		0/0%		0/0%		0/0%
3eme (1780-1800)		0/0%		0/0%		0/0%
4eme (1850-1860)	7	1/14.29%		0/0%		0/0%
5eme (1885-1890)	7	1/14.29%	7	1/14.29%	7	1/14.29%
6eme (1900-1972)	7	1/14.29%	7	1/14.29%		0/0%
7eme (1968)	7	1/14.29%		0/0%		0/0%
Fischer p-value	28	0.321 NS	14	0.321 NS	07	0.321 NS

N: Effectif; NS: non significatif statistiquement.

Tableau II

Comparaison de la proportion de sites anciens déstructurés selon les flux migratoires des peuples Abouré Ehiwé au quartier Impérié à Bonouade 1890 à 1970

Migration	Cimetières		Espaces culturels		Lieux de cultes	
	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)
1ere (1890-1900)		0/0%		0/0%		0/0%
2eme (1901-1905)	3	1/33.33%	3	1/33.33%	3	1/33.33%
3eme (1965-1970)		0/0%		0/0%		0/0%
Fischer p-value	3	0.223 NS	3	0.223 NS	3	0.223 NS

N: Effectif; NS: non significatif statistiquement.

Tableau III

Comparaison de la proportion de sites archéologiques déstructurés selon les déplacements du peuple Abouré Ehiwé au village de Yaou du 1^{er} quart du XVII^e à 1935

Migration	Cimetières		Espaces culturels		Lieux de cultes	
	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)
1ere (1 ^{er} quart XVI-1701)		0/0%		0/0%		0/0%
2eme (1701-1935)	2	1/50%	2	0/0%	2	1/50%
Fischer p-value	2	0.151 NS	2	0.151 NS	2	0.151 NS

N: Effectif; NS: non significatif statistiquement.

Tableau IV

Comparaison de la proportion de sites anciens détruits selon les mouvements migratoires du peuple Abouré Ehié au village d'Adiaho de 1660 à 1964

Migration	Cimetières		Espaces culturels		Lieux de cultes	
	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)	N	Proportion (%)
1ère (1660-1700)		0/0%		0/0%		0/0%
2ème (1702-1836)		0/0%		0/0%	3	1/33.33%
3ème (1836-1964)	3	1/33.33%	3	1/33.33%		0/0%
Fischer p-value	3	0.238 NS	3	0.238 NS	3	0.238 NS

N: Effectif; NS: non significatif statistiquement.

IMAGES RELATIVES À QUELQUES SITES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES DÉSTRUCTURÉS



Fig. 1. Des concessions construites sur des anciennes tombes à Begneri (Bonoua).



Fig. 2. Un garage mécanique installé sur un ancien cimetière abandonné à Bonoua.



Fig. 3. L'ancien espace culturel Kadjo Amangoua à Bonoua.



Fig. 4. Un musée non protégé dans un parc culturel à Bonoua.



Fig. 5. Le site de l'école Akpa Gnagne de Bonoua, un ancien cimetière et le deuxième lieu d'habitation du peuple Abouré Ehié à Bonoua.



Fig. 6. Une menuiserie installée sur un ancien cimetière à Impérie.



Fig. 7. Une tombe à proximité d'une habitation à Impérie.



Fig. 8. Ancien cimetière de Yaou sur lequel sont construites aujourd'hui des logements.



Fig. 9. Un ancien cimetière d'Adiaho servant de terrain de football aujourd'hui.

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THE SPANISH GITANOS OF MEXICO CITY: RHYTHMICITY, MIMESIS AND DOMESTICATION OF THE *PAYOS*¹

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Abstract. This text addresses a tentative approach to groups in Mexico such as the Roma, who remain poorly known. The analysis focuses on problematizing the particular cultural and economic reproduction strategies of an urban group of Gitanos (Calós) in Mexico City. Greater attention is placed particularly on the performance and the mimesis in economic exchange with the Payos (non-Gitanos). The idea is that the processes of cultural identification refer to the basic Caló social universe, which reveals epistemological beliefs and assumptions shared by the group in relation to the Payo universe. The idea is that the Calós construct idealized models of the real world during everyday experience in the ecological context within the community. Instead, it relates to the direct perceptual involvement of subjects in a relational context of shared patterns of daily activities in environments that are experienced. The effect is the domestication of the Payo's world.

Keywords: Gitanos culture identity, Mexico, performance.

THE PRESENCE²

It is a truism to note that academic hierarchies and the corpus of anthropology, sociology and history in Mexico ignore the historical role of the Roma in the incomplete process of nation-building. The various Roma groups have historically been devalued in relation to nation-building not only in Mexico but also in the American continent³. Moreover, the Roma are not even mentioned as part of the national histories and subjects thereof⁴. Mexican scientific literature has not

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² The concept of "presence" evokes, in a philosophical sense, the notions of "be in the world", "be present in the history" through the culture (de Martino, 1977).

³ See Declaración del Pueblo Roma (2000).

⁴ The Roma presence in the Americas is attested since the third voyage of Christopher Columbus in 1498 (Torbágyi, 2003) and we have information, but scarce, of various kinds on the history of migration and Roma presence in America (Boyd Bodman, 1985; Prorom, 1999, 2005; Gamboa et al,

constructed a Roma topic⁵. In fact, the denigration of them in the country is a reflection of the difficulties of institutionalizing studies on the Roma who do not fit into pre-established frameworks: To what do they belong? To the folk? To the urban poor? To the ethnic? To the immigrants? (cf. Olivera, 2007:14).

According to Wolf (1993), the continuous historical process of construction and reconstruction of cultures relate to processes operating in the general areas of the ecological environment, the society, the economy and the politics. He also explains that the exercise of power is a crucial factor in the regulation of social relations and in the creation of meaning within the cultural arena so that the power of the culture constitutes the strength and the ability to influence the social domain and its different areas of activity such as the social relations between people (Shoenmakers, 2012).

For the purposes of this text I have chosen one of these spheres of activity as the axis of reflection, namely, the economic environment of the Roma, peddling. With it I intend to provide an understanding in relation to the cultural reproduction of this community, identifying the set of movement and engagement between an “inside”, a concept of the Roma system – without reference to an essentialism – posed by Williams and Piaseke on the basis that, as an almost regularity, cultural reproduction in Roma social terms is blunt, elastic, fluid and refers to historical conditions, and an “outside”: a political, anthropological and historical construction that exists through the staging and representation of Roma through symbolic devices and networks of our knowledge (Asséo, 2008)⁶.

We focus on the performance as a way of hermeneutic understanding and as a significant action in its description of the culture creating process (Turner, 1985: 182-187; Goffman, 1981). In the ethnographic scope of the modes of social interaction within a group of Calós in Mexico City, the performance is addressed first; it is addressed as a poetic invention and a cultural creativity which is embodied in a specific activity and an everyday responsibility of the Calós, peddling (see Conquergood, 1989). As part of the pragmatic dimension of society, the Calós are productive and creative agents in their relationships and practices, confronting the order imposed by the institutions of the nation state (Herzfeld, 2005). The social poetics of everyday interaction constitutes the game through which people try to gain advantages. On one hand, in the commercial transaction, the comparison between a set of identification (cultural affinities) / distance (opposition) and the Payo (“otherness”) is generated. On the other hand, roles of nature foreign to their culture (“mimesis”) are assimilated as a mimetic faculty expressing a decisive role in the culture, establishing a symbolic power (Taussig, 1993). This game is not a mere irrational action due to crisis or cultural stress but an adaptive behavior, which is a

2000; San Roman, 1986, 1994; Martinez, 2004; in Mexico, see Pickett, 1962, 1970; Salo, 1992; IMEGI, 1995:18; Armendáriz, 1998, 2001, 2005; Pérez Romero, 2001). Estimates, not very reliable, suggest that there may be around 15,000 Roma in Mexico.

⁵ At present, there are Kalderash Roma colonies in Mexico City, Puebla, Guadalajara, Michoacán, Querétaro, Oaxaca and Veracruz; Roma Ludar groups in central Mexico (San Luis Potosi, Jalisco) and a small community of Spanish Calos which lives in Mexico City.

⁶ Personal communication.

reflection of how mimetic activity relates to social practice and interpersonal relationships. The game is particularly described through a concrete, social and historical situation of trading commitments between the “inside” and the “outside” among Calós.

Second, in terms of a radical phenomenology and in relation to a sensible, immediate perception, the Calós do not “trust” the Payos and raise, structurally and persistently, feelings of hostility, hatred, fear and envy (cf. Piasere, 1999, and Gaze / Roma schismogenesis processes). In the first place, the commercial transaction represents a regulatory, constitutive ritual in the sense that it guides and regulates a practical activity, referring to the aesthetic style of the activity and the quality of its diacritical features (Tambiah 1995: 144). Peddling creates a practical relationship with the environment⁶. Structured as a constitutive ritual act that is subjected to constitutive rules, it produces an uncertain performative effect (Tambiah, 1995). Such everyday performative acts elicit (in the sense of arousing, inciting) shared meanings and moods – an ethos – (Wagner, 1986). Simultaneously, they symbolically achieve control and power over the Payo world as an unpredictable universe, yielding a power that transcends subjects (Wagner, 1986). On the one hand, the commercial transaction describes an order of interaction in which symbolic constructs relate to the moral values of the group; on the other, it exercises power and domination (Goffman, 1983).

Stewart (1997a: 97) points out that the domination of the Gaze by Hungarian Vlach Roma represented in the horse market transactions is an ideological construct. First, it refers to an image of sufficiency by obtaining Payos’ resources (without establishing a reciprocal relationship with them). Secondly, it refers to equality and the ethos of sharing. Wolf (1999: 3-4) emphasizes how power plays in human relationships of interdependence. He contrasts ideas (mental constructs of the world) with ideologies (unified schemes to manifest power) and notes that both play a crucial role as emblems and instruments to bound people or to separate them in cooperation or in conflict. Wolf’s approach allows an understanding of the link between the material relations and the ideological schemes at the level of the subjects involved in the reproduction of the ideological and instrumental means of ratification of the social organization and the ever-changing pursuit of consistency. Overall, it shows that the construction of meaning is an activity linked to ordinary social life.

With this, we describe a relational perspective of power as constituted through language and everyday practice (Bourdieu, 1991) that is produced and reproduced through the contextual actions and interpretations of social interaction in complex strategic situations (Foucault, 1986: 113). Therefore, cultural identity among the Calós is built into the details of the practice of everyday life while at the same time it takes on an economic, aesthetic and political construction involving the simultaneous formation of both objects and subjects (Comaroff, 1994).

⁶ Houseman (1994:13-14) argues that a general trait among the Roma is precisely their “natural” environment which is composed of partners and representatives of other ethnic groups (Roma, Gaze, living/dead, relatives/non-relatives, etc.), never indifferent.

The idea is that the processes of cultural identification refer to the basic Caló social universe, which reveals epistemological beliefs and assumptions shared by the group in relation to the Payo universe. The idea is that the Calós construct idealized models of the real world during everyday experience in the ecological context within the community. Instead, it relates to the direct perceptual involvement of subjects in a relational context of shared patterns of daily activities in environments that are experienced.

THE GITANOS OF MEXICO CITY

This section attempts to focus on the specific analysis of a group of Spanish Calós living in Mexico City, from a dialogical and performative culture perspective (Clifford, 1995). The group consists of about 150 individuals who identify themselves as “Spanish Gypsies”⁷ and who live in the Zona Rosa, a part of Colonia Juárez, a residential neighborhood of middle and upper-class level. The local community was formed 35 years ago by members who had previously lived in Brazil, Venezuela and Argentina. It is not a closed community. It is a product of immigration that has left a composition of family networks under permanent construction.

The taste for social life is an important aspect in harvesting the social consensus among the Calós and is reflected in the more visible daily practice of the dominion game⁸ played by men in cafes and in hotels of the Zona Rosa. One of those patterns also is expressed on the daily practices embodied in the aesthetic and communicative dimension of art. If we complete a phenomenological reading of the corporal kinesthesia, the competence in the sense of movement and position of the body and its parts is revealed in the integration of rhythm as a social pace. One example is the fact that Calós sing and dance at any time and place, which embarrasses any outside observer. Among the Calós, the cultural significance is revealed not only through language but also through verbal actions that act as social catalysts which function as performative operators that the Calós use to explain things in society. So, singing and dancing are the languages of social integration (of the life cycle) and politics (of the gesture, the invitation). The singing and dancing together, in an improvised way, is the most basic form of integration, stressing the importance of social ties and the importance of living in society.

We propose that the performative meaning is a contingent and emergent social process; the latter metaphor indicates that the whole transcends system components, the whole being more than the sum of its parts (Stewart, 2002). This

⁷ Unlike indigenous peoples whose population is surveyed from government surveys on the use of the language and their sense of ethnic belonging there are no official censuses on Roma in Mexico.

⁸ Dominoes, like gambling or sports ritual, is a model of culture in their commonality, based on modalities of magical efficiency that in turn generate new myths and rituals (Zulaika, 1990).

reveals the irreducible dimension of social life: man is a self-performative animal (Turner, 2002: 108). In this sense, the Calós can make something out of improvisation, tearing apart a dance or a song to reach the crucial starting point: society, the vaguest thing that exists. Not getting out of this primordial vitality involving basic integration is represented by the half ceremonial, half playful undifferentiated gesture. If we refine this and describe it as “art”, the integration is lost. For the Calós, singing and dancing is not a segregated activity as it is for the majority of society; rejecting to dance is equivalent to rejecting sociability. This is symbolized by the right to own rhythmic expression in the spontaneous expression as well as in the most formal dimension. That which may annoy an outside observer is not the singing or the dancing itself but the spontaneous way in which it is exercised.

The perception of the environment (their “nature”, as says Houseman, 1994) is the experience of the space-time coordinates, understood always in motion. There are constantly movement on the peddling, in the long-distance travel or short-range displacements. Asséo (1994; 2008) identifies a “circulation principle” among the European Roma. As the Eskimos, among Calós, and before that of nomadism, we have to talk about movement based on cyclical and not regular displacements⁹. There is a strong attachment to specific places that are visited repeatedly. Disputes are avoided by existing resources and on share information about them, which do not belong to any group. Places are temporarily occupied by individuals and families. Another individual or family can pass through them, and established with agreement. There is a “go and come” not violent or competitive between space and seasonality. The destination of choice for business transaction can be both prospective and fixed and repetitive. The Calós constantly move and this movement is based on site conditions. This idea of possession of territory is based on constant mobility and freedom culture at local, regional and transnational level; is their lived cultural identity.

In relation to the position in space of the global society, Piasere (2004: 89-96, see also Olivera, 2007: 539) refers favorite location of Roma in the ends, the most fragile of the political organization of the State as a form of a more general strategy of integration into the “sfassatura”¹⁰, the geopolitical, economic and commercial discontinuity of Non-Roma society. As part of a differential perception of risk as a concept-model, Calós are at the margins of the economic system and try to improve their conditions of exploitation of resources at local and regional level, resisting the neoliberal state. The Mexican context is conducive to the informal economy (29% of Mexico's GDP), and Calós, by way of practice, conduct informal economic practices that show great flexibility, frequent successes and cultural creativity,

⁹ A frequent routes part to Queretaro, Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, Torreon, Durango, and the return to Tamaulipas, San Luis Potosi, Veracruz, although at present and due to the growing insecurity in the country the routes directed more to the south (Puebla, Chiapas, Oaxaca). The coastal area is also popular as tourist corridor extending from Acapulco to Puerto Vallarta, and the Oaxaca coast.

¹⁰ In the sense of a slit, a notch.

while in Spain productive organization of Calós is more subject to standardization and legal oversight (regulations, taxes)¹¹.

The practice of the material life of the Roma, from the occupations to the mode of their “presence” in the territory, is the result of choices and values articulated with the situation, creatively unfolding (Piasere, 1999: 21-35). The economic anchor and circulation of Calós in the territories indicated the relevance of a set of strategies like living in the informal sector, move to exploit economic niches and generally, the symbiotic relationships with local, regional and national levels. The anchor denotes a circulation regime and a mobility knowledge-capital about the intermittent demands of the territory, so that “the principle of circulation” always organizes and offers more opportunities for economic success (Asseo, 2008). The spiral movement on the territory is not the exception but the rule; in this movement resides the group's identity, the rhythmicity. This suggests redefining the movement of those Calós who are rooted in the territory in which circulate freely. This multiple and fine territorialization of Calós is an element that has built up over the years, not only a hold and lived identity, but a whole anthropological and historical system which is a whole cultural, mixing reproduction of mutual relationships with economic integration, being integral to the history and global society.

The main occupation among Calós is peddling. Products offered to potential customers are leather jackets (*chamarras*), accessories (sunglasses, watches, pens, etc.), perfumes, clothes (shirts, pants), silver frames, cutlery, tablecloths, bedspreads and other products. The strategy of the vendor is to provide either an individual product (jacket, accessories) or a set of products in a baggage (*lote*) for a total price¹². To do this, they go to private homes, markets, public buildings and government enterprises, small and medium businesses, and move to different areas of metropolitan Mexico City and the rest of the country.

According to the circumstances of the sale may be risk individually or in groups, and this indicates that these circumstances are social risk. Among Calós preparing the sale involves the exchange of information, cooperation between family, work groups, etc., and recreate social relations, risking little financially. This is part of this lived world, safer and freer.

MIMESIS AND PERFORMANCE

In the communication process of economic exchange with the Payos, Mexican Calós resort to gesture, aesthetics, performance and impression management (Goffman, 1981) as inventions of ordinary life, to which are added in the form

¹¹ Another question is to ask how the various Calós groups in Spain live the economy, if they are worried by the market taxes. Have they a tax experience or is thought? The economy – expenses, taxes – surpasses them?

¹² The peddling of the *lote* was a type of business strategy driven by Spanish Gitanos from the 50's with the mechanization of the countryside, reaching great importance until the 70's. In the sale of the *lote* the profit margin is higher and the time of sale less than if it were to sell one by one all the products offered.

rationalizations of ideas and beliefs that are part of a hierarchy of values. The peddling is a performative act (Austin, 1990; Tambiah, 1995) and the conviviality that integrates performative and cultural ethos through its effectiveness, its success or failure and their effects. The commercial transaction in front the Payos social space is constructed dialectically through the game of the distance (against social intimacy), supported by the conventionality and formality of the external device (the performance). The expectation of risk in the business transaction (being identified as Gitano) is neutralized by the manipulation of symbolic codes regarding political identification: it makes a positive self-identification, so that Calós hide their identity as Gitanos (negative identification) and present themselves as Spaniards (positive identification) in front of their clients¹³. This is part of the social poetics in which the game of distance and staging to an “outside” is a political, anthropological and historical construction that relies on symbolic devices.

What singles out Mexican Calós is the product of the type of exchange, joint social and historical contingencies (Piasere, 2004) that provide acceptability in Mexican territory. Therefore, knowledge of the other is recognized among Calós as an invisibility strategy based on the next premise: when a difference breaks the panorama of the accepted difference (visibility), invisibility proves to be the most prudent and successful strategy. By presenting themselves as “Spanish”, the stigma-prone Calós are not stigmatized. Through mimesis and identification with an external other, the Calós “survive”¹⁴.

The manipulation of identity is a strategy followed by other Roma communities in commercial contact with the Gaze (Piasere, 1999)¹⁵. Obviously, there are scenarios and historical moments in which to be Roma is recognized as relatively safe and advantageous or disadvantageous (Okely, 1997: 228; Piasere, 2004). Lisón (1997) notes that since the arrival of Gypsies on the Iberian Peninsula, they have been perceived as and presented themselves to the Payos through a carnival of pragmatic, legal, religious and symbolic-allegorical masks that appeared and disappeared and were transformed continuously (cf. Silverman, 1988; Okely, 1996). However, the Calós’ combinatory status, the social poetics¹⁶, is the substratum of cultural creativity. Against this explicit social process, harsh and discriminatory, the Calós play creatively

¹³ “Spanish”, in Mexico, is one category less racially discriminated than “Gitano”. This relates to the impression management in Goffman microsociology, since Calós control, through dress, the way they talk, gestures, etc., the symbolic information that adapts more favorably to social expectations for the customers.

¹⁴ The idea of blending into the environment abides by Adorno’s (1984) zoological and biological impulse.

¹⁵ The ethnic “invisibility” among the Rom Kalderas of Paris, according to Patrick Williams, or the “super-communication” of ethnicity among American Rom stated by Matt and Sheila Salo, is a technique also seen by Piasere among Slovenian Roms in northern Italy who act the part of illiterate gypsies in order to glean scrap iron from farmers and repair shops for free or at a low cost for scrap iron present in front peasants and repair as poor illiterate gypsies – “super-communication” – to get free or inexpensive materials (Piasere, 1999:28).

¹⁶ Social poetics is “the whole hurly-burly of human actions, the background against which we see any action” (Wittgenstein, 1981).

with different labels which in turn are offensive and damaging; the power to manipulate reality consists in shedding a distinctive identification and behavioral label (“Gitano”), which involves specific content (tradition, racism, etc.) Expectations or interpretation schemata (Goffman, 1974) of a problematic social situation (anti-*Gitano* prejudice), linked to cognitive and affective processes, are invigorated by frames and the collective ideas (not reducible to ideologies) that from a sociological point of view refer to dialogic situations of social interaction (Snow and Benford, 2000). The reaction that is expected of the Payo as a subject receiving stimuli and reacting to the information of the “perfect” communicative act (as in the case of G. H. Mead’s symbolic interactionism), is an enthusiastic response and/or submission. Although it is assumed that failure is a natural performance, the desired effect is reached through the transmission of symbolically coded information of the physiological, psychological and social status of the issuer, resorting to impression management and verbal art performance as key elements of persuasion (Bauman, 1975) and, in general, control of the context of action¹⁷, in turn determined by cultural conventions. Foucault explains that what defines a relationship of power is not act directly and immediately on others, but act upon their actions: action upon an action, or over eventual or current actions, present or future (Foucault, 1988: 14). The Calós power is exercised in marketing, developing persuasive skills they possess to influence someone to buy a product; in other words, the ways that make people behave differently on their own (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1984; Dahl, 1957: 203). One of the strategies most employed to stimulate motivation is imitating roles as clothing importer, journalist, military pensioner or exhibitor of fairs: *I’m an airline pilot and bought these clothes for my children in El Corte Inglés [a mall] in Madrid, but they are too small. These leather jackets are good but I have to get back to Spain and I want to exchange these jackets for bottles of tequila*. Botero describes his work: *This is marketing!*

Calós power lies in their ability to persuade and how they project an illusion¹⁸ in the minds of customers. The imagination of the Payos feeds the artistic ability of the Calós to create these illusions aimed at altering the perception of others in order to sell the product¹⁹. It is also the illusion of appearing to be someone else, the chameleon-like power, secrecy and invisibility. We refer not only to a performance

¹⁷ When highly standardized communication patterns are broken, the cybernetic model of communication can lead to failure. Failed communication in interactions can lead, in certain cases, to the oath (swearing on the dead) –as an insult- or to a curse. The challenging behavior of swearing and cursing (both forms of ritual) imply discontinuity on the cyber level (Zulaika, 1990:369). Both are expressions of the power of the verb as warning and punishment, as well as the verbal form of persuasion (sales performance).

¹⁸ Verbal loquacity is important: we sell jackets. A person may be seeing the jacket in the store but we are chatty, we sell things ... and fast because if not they leave ... as well is an understanding of psychology. A young Caló described their sale as “illusion selling” using communicative resources (verbal, gestural, clothes) to entice the buyer: we say that these tablecloths are made by the Carmelite sisters. I believe it. It is all based on you believing it yourself.

¹⁹ In Plato’s Republic the philosopher pointed out how mimetic ability produced appearances and illusions that affected people’s perception and behavior.

of a performance (of the “real” airplane pilot or the New York Times reporter²⁰), but a transformative cultural process through physical and bodily acts which build identities, relationships and rules based on otherness, and employing the faculty to copy, to imitate, in order to make models, explore differences, and “become someone else” – not literally – even to the point of taking on the character and power of that other person (Taussig, 1993: xiii). So, having the capacity to imitate is the chameleonic²¹ and magical power to copy, forge and mask, and in turn implies the power contained in this capability of representing the world, making this Caló ability like a game of mirrors²²: a drifting of the power of representation which explains the power of representation of Roma as an object by anthropology. So, when copying and imitating the original model, that is, the representation and objectification of the Payo figure (flight attendant, pilot, journalist and any other role), this implies the subject's appropriation of the character and power of those original figures. In short, instead of observing the performance as a parody or an assimilationist desire to be “like the Payos”, it is best understood as an act of mimetic cultural imagination. The Calós can protect themselves from an uncertain and hostile environment by deleting the biased category of “Gitano”, magically acquiring the essence of the other people in the everyday act of appearances, an art that cultivates the insoluble paradox of essence/appearance (Taussig, 1993: 176).

The interrelationship between the cognitive and sociological aspects builds the dynamic social relationships and cultural ideologies of domestication, power and control over the Payos, and describes the feeling of superiority that the Calós have over the Payos (cf. Stewart, 1997b, and how the Hungarian Vlach view themselves as superiors in words in *la chance*; Piasere, 1991: 213 ff, and the rejection of being made part of the proletariat as in “the internal hegemony” among the Rom of Verona). The effect of domesticating and encapsulating the Payos into objective and practical categories has wider implications because superiority would not be circumstantial but would be built as a social structure in which the Payo ideologically can't start a relationship of reciprocity with the Calós. The efficiency of rejecting the interaction, which is articulated effectively with other kinds of rejections in relation to moral values and associated taboos described in other social spheres (mentioning the deceased, separation of the sexes, etc.), however, is an issue that depends on the contexts of social, economic and historical exchange: *Mexicans here are 'Payos, Payos', we do not have a relationship with them, we sell to them. On the other hand, I have Payo friends in Spain, we have lived together. Here the Mexicans have their rules: 'yes, sir', 'excuse me', 'thank you very much'.* This indicates, first, that the game of distance for the Mexican expresses a

²⁰ In my ethnography with Catalan Calós an old Cali woman narrated one of the strategies used indoor to door peddling in the 50's in Catalonia: some [men] made the women go into homes, and once inside, she let the man to sell the lot. I did not play that trick. The men said they were French or Italian and that they had imported clothes (Lagunas, 2005:95).

²¹ This idea refers to the figure of the European Gypsies as “tricksters”, according to Piasere (2011).

²² Mimesis does not disrupt the ethnic boundaries that are maintained through strong group endogamy among the Calós.

dimension of diaspora and, second, that the mark of otherness is a specific and contextual construction (cf. Stewart, 1997b, the Hungarian peasant is more “other”).

Intercultural affinity, as incorporated activity and reflexive discourse, is part of the fabrication of the contents of culture, revealing that it is built by n having absorbed, often imperceptibly, elements from other cultures (*we have been like chameleons, adapted to each location. If we have seen anything good in you, we have absorbed it*). This absorption cannot be explained merely as non-conscious mimicry²³. To study Calós is to understand elements that really are not exclusive; they are imported, and therefore are loans from other contexts (see Williams, 1996).

A business transaction is an aesthetic construction of life that also shows how constructing the Calós’ world of experience depends on fluid types of identity and identification, not on essentials. The Calós teach us that the distinction between the instrumental and the expressive is dissolved. That is, a theatrical model realized exclusively as “fraudulent” in the staging of self would be simplistic and reductionist if compared to the sham inherent in every human being living in society had we not added other dimensions of the person as in this case it would be the cultural affinities. As noted by Joseph (1999: 5), notions of (national) citizenship images are imbued with public, official definitions, the usual practice, informal nostalgic yearnings, accumulated historical memory, material culture, mythologies, and lessons learned from previous rejections. Thus, performance of the (Spanish) national attributes that Calós consistently use in their social life, and that includes both the aesthetic and technical dimensions of the issues at stake, is best understood as a place in which the “person” feels realized in the complex areas of everyday life (Joseph, 1999: 4). In following Benjamin, the basic mimetic impulse offers “similarity”, to become one similar to the other, not a mere imitation (Cahn, 1984: 34).

Therefore, in commercial transactions Calós also state and exhibit culturally marked preferences, national identity elements that are part of their Spanish heritage, and through these seem to suggest intercultural affinities. In this sense, mimesis-imitation is the reflection of the flexibility and porosity of the difference between self and the other, in which the “distance” from what is imitated can always be found (Taussig, 1993: xix). Covering up the differences and affirming what is shared as a situational-adaptation process – that coexists with regulatory processes and broader social coordination – (Turner, 2002: 107) implies that Calós are careful not to be identified as Gitanos, stating that as Spanish people and traders they are expressing economic, social and cultural relationships which complement the Mexicans. This is an element of adaptive culture that tells us how the meaning of consciousness and attribution of meaning to “race”²⁴ and culture as well as negotiating with outsiders is produced through exchanges and interactions with the

²³ To see something or hear something is to enter into a relationship with that something, establishing a contact. The distinction between the copy and the contact, as well as the nature of this relationship remains obscured and is a source of both imagination and identification, representation and expression, terms that are related to or are conjured up by the notion of mimesis (Taussig, 1993:21).

²⁴ The Calós view themselves as a “race” that is different from the Payo world. In my relationship and interaction with this group I have treated them, out of respect, “as if they were a race”.

Payos. This would express a particular ethos as well as symbolize conventional distinctions and categories, not static nor uniform, on which Calós build their trade relations. It is not only the instrumentality, usefulness or the characteristics of a meta-language that defines the performance but the expressiveness of it, which is what makes sense as Spaniards and as Calós.

NATURALIZATION AND DOMESTICATION

Power comes from three sources: nature, society and, more directly, the power exercised by the people themselves. So, power is a feature of human relationships and indicates the need for one person to partially control others through domestication, the processes of socialization and power (Terradas, 1988: 27). Payos are located at a specific position in the world through classification systems that are cognitive tools and are in fact the product of social-political dynamics and specific social and cultural ideologies whose ultimate cause are logical and formal: establish contrasts of incompatibility based in representation systems that project negative attributes which are presented as being natural. The idea is that human groups “naturalize” cultural differences, and it is also an instrument of domestication, power and control. In reference to the division between nature and culture, Olivera (2007) recently showed that the Rom Gabori see the Gaze as “nature”-humanized, reversing the perception of the Slovenian-Croatian Rom of Gaze as humanity-“nature” (Piasere, 1985: 136-184, 1995: 31).

Performance, and in general the Calós transactional culture, highlights issues of power, ideology and historical processes of dialogue/resistance (Turner, 1986). We are not referring here to specific Calós ideologies (pure blood, ethnicity, honor/dishonor, labor, time management, etc.) that affect several areas of social life, including the construction of a second nature (Taussig, 1993) in the magical-mimetic relationship regarding the Payos.

The worldview reflects a set of integrating principles that provide coherence to the system of knowledge and beliefs, even though as a structure of ideas it is not permanent nor fixed because its imaginings and metaphors are much more changeable than cognitive constructs (Turner, 2002: 111-112). Although people do not necessarily live according to their worldview, their conceptual system, these models are put together with values and feelings, structure consciously and unconsciously as frames (Lakoff, 2006).

However, worldview, unlike cognitive constructions, has to be translated into performances (Turner, 2002: 112). In this sense, the relationship between performance and power would not only be the expression of the culture of the Calós, but the reflexive eye, the creative glance of the Calós at possibly more suitable designs of life (Turner, 1986:24). We refer to the commercial transaction as an everyday event that works as conventional act, ritual, in the sense that 1. it is a culturally built symbolic communication system (whose content is related to a particular ideology) through structured and organized sequences of words and acts,

and whose content is characterized by formality (conventionality), stereotypical aspects (stiffness), condensation (fusion) and redundancy (repetition) (Tambiah 1995: 130), and 2. execution or capability of being performed, the action is a basic condition of what happens as the ritual not only communicates but is “doing something” (Zulaika, 1989). First, we observe absolute formality in dress: suit and tie for the men, with the ritual shoe shine before going out, while women wear discrete, dark, clothes with a combination of skirt, sweater, bag and elegant shoes. The movements are also stylized, emphasizing discretion and elegance in the walking mode, gaze, gestures, the way of sitting. The appearance and body language, the personal front (Goffman, 1981), is key to successful communication since both refer to the choreography of the performance which provides incentives that speak to the potential customer about the status of the performer. The language used is clear, structured, in a refined style, rhetorical, using higher forms of phrases and pronouns, and a bombastic vocabulary (Tambiah, 1995: 140). It is performed with verve and speed. That is, the rules are specified ahead of time in order to proceed with the implementation, and the sequence of events is pre-ordered creating an unpredictable outcome.

It is, then, a kind of “normal” intentional communicative behavior, that Calós manipulate as “ritualized” conventional behavior; the distinction between the two lies in the degree of formalization and stereotyping, which explains the relative distinction in behavior (Tambiah, 1995: 137). This step is accomplished by means of a theatrical stage comprising movements and postures, clothing and execution. In ethnographic observation, the Calós invest much effort in theatrical dramatization of a role in order to achieve an effect. But according to Zulaika (1989), this is a serious drama, it is playing seriously. The paradox is that Calós “have to live the fiction of a representation as though it were pure reality (...) everything that is said or done inside is true, even that which is known to be false despite expressing it with the strictest formality and literalism” (Zulaika, 1995: 137). In this context, participants play at believing in the performance and act ritually, taking the metaphor literally, and experiencing theater as ritual (*you have to believe in it yourself*).

In short, we observe the ritual as drama that plays creatively (ritual emphasizing effectiveness) and as theater that we live out seriously. As stated by Schechner (1994), ordinary peddling relationships among the Calós would be experienced as a clear and explicit performance, which would abide by an implicit social process, not for the Payos who would experience, not theater, but an explicit social process whose performance condition is implicit. Theatre and social process would be interchangeable, with the sublimation of conflicts related to cumulative history of both polyphonic and radical dialogisms.

In this symbolic-aesthetic and ideological construct, the Payos’ cultural representations are present, so that increasing the experiential aspect of the Payo “myth” (as social representation that gives meaning to the construction of the Caló world) is produced through social action. That which has been lived through personally in the trade performance would be identified with what is imagined

socially²⁵. In other words, ritualization provides stability and legitimacy to social constructions that operate effectively (Tambiah, 1995: 136), including the figure of the Payo which is excluded from community morality. The peddling performance is a stylized expression of fluidity with respect to the type of representation and categorization there is toward the Payos, in which ritual, gestures and aesthetics are the same²⁶. Among Calós, theater, gesture and rhythm (not the semantics) are the main concepts. In short, it represents the manifestation and exercise of Caló power over the Payo universe. Peddling, in such circumstances, is a Caló particular performance compared to peddling in other ethnic contexts.

Selling is as much a political resource as it is persuasion in its ritual format. Apparently, Calós connect and do things mechanically, like a labor discipline. The paradox is that this labor discipline entails liturgical discipline: gestures, words or appearance must be in harmony. This practical knowledge is incorporated since the regulatory rules that guide the performance are of paramount importance. In its dual employment and liturgical dimension, every peddling act connects with another, and it is the weaving of these acts is what forms the nucleus, not the symbolization. In their daily conduct and through commercial transactions between Calós, not only do they strengthen their moral values as a group, but their control and power over the Payos also materializes, establishing a sense of presence and social exchange. Obtaining power through the ritual of the sale would occur upon the transmission of information (communication), and this is then acted upon. Power is not something imaginary nor an implied thing but an object of real experience. This aspect is present in the forms of domestication used by the Calós on the Payos. Put in another way, Payos metaphorically embody a second nature related to a function, that of human beings socially tamed, disciplined and subject to a hierarchical system of moral values.

CONCLUSION

The meaning and the experience, skills and knowledge of the environment, and overall cultural configuration build transactional cultures in relation to lived environments. The anthropological and historical system of Mexican Calós is a permanent reformulation process, in which they learn, adapt and influence the surrounding environment, recreating a flexible and adaptive culture. The local community is involved in the movement of resources, people and ideas in relation to the networks established with Spain, and processes of construction and

²⁵ In the West, some musicians believe that the idea of art is only produced during the process of musical creation, during the performance. These musicians would underline the importance of live performance and not the mere recording of music in the studio. Similarly, cultural signs have to be acted out to be real.

²⁶ Malinowski (1977) had revealed the importance in Trobriand magic of the rhythm and the way something is said (gestures), not the semantic content.

reconstruction of identity can be observed, as well as processes of belonging and understanding the community, accompanied by strategic interactions in terms of the fluid and mobile cultural adscription (Spanish/Calós).

We are in a position of confrontation against any interpretation that suggests an inertia not accepted by this group. The Calós are vital, make history, do live things, they do not cling to any aspect of their culture because they are inferior, as if they did not know how to absorb from their surroundings. Formal allegiances are absolutely common in many. The Calós manifest a series of principles with which they play and constantly rework; they play with personal conscience.

Throughout the text, we emphasize one aspect of the Calós community in Mexico City, that is, that the simple act of selling is saturated with codes, which symbolically constrain behavior. The face to face with Payos does not question symbolic borders but establishes a functional and utilitarian relationship, and thus does not represent a primary circle for the Calós but a non-emotional and non-camaraderie secondary circle. Peddling condenses a collective and broad sense for the Calós and in this context the verbal art, performance, aesthetics and dramatic effect end up producing an affirmation of unity and social cohesion. It is an exercise of expression and manifestation of the power of appearance and the copy – the mimetic faculty –, in the words of the Calós.

We proposed that the source of this power is in the daily ritual actions performed in a way in which they do not appear as a mere endorsement of a person who is assigned responsibility or is an authority figure, the acquisition of power occurs in the ritual action. The sale, a means to get resources, is seen simultaneously as a goal. It is as if the power acquired by performing during ritual activity came from the ritual need to be invested with the power of Caló men and women over the Payos, despite prior possession of nominal power as Calós. This is a perspective that emphasizes the aspects of performance and external components of peddling and contrasts with the phenomenological reading and psychological stress (internal) in Turner and Van Gennep, who emphasize individual experience and rituals of transit/initiation. Consequently, the performance would not be a psychological process but primarily social: the expression of Calós society.

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THOUGHTS REGARDING A POSSIBLE BALKAN ANTHROPOLOGY

SEBASTIAN ȘTEFĂNUCĂ*

Abstract. This text is a plea for a regional Balkan anthropology on its own. The vision bears the imprint of my own path in social and cultural anthropology. Reflexiveness on both national Balkan ethnologies and Western anthropological paradigms which one wants to be imported in Balkans marks a start line for an autonomous Balkan anthropology. The geographical unit and historical destiny, the ethnography tradition and lack of theoretical preoccupation, as well as the limited funding are reasons for a particular anthropology in the Balkans. Taking into account these arguments, its practitioners can originate only in Balkan states. The researcher instruction through extended fieldwork in a Balkan country which is different from his native country and the intraregional comparativism will be two of the main features of such an anthropology. The autonomy of Balkan anthropology will not mean isolation, but a constant dialogue with all the anthropological and ethnological traditions.

Keywords: *Balkans, comparativism, limited funding, participant observation, reflexiveness, regional anthropology.*

A POINT OF VIEW THAT RELATES TO A SPECIFIC EXPERIENCE

By “Balkan anthropology” we will be referring not to a body of anthropological writing dealing with the Balkan region but to a particular way of carrying out social and cultural anthropology. Such a body of writing does exist and is sufficiently comprehensive for us to be able to say that an anthropology drawn up solely on the basis of texts produced as a consequence of research into the Balkans is already a reality. There is no doubt that the anthropological and ethnological dictionaries and encyclopaedias of the future will contain as a matter of course such entries as “South-East Asia” or “South-Eastern Europe” (the term by which the Balkans will most likely be described). It is not in this way that I propose to deal with the subject of a possible anthropology for the Balkans, nor even do I intend to identify the general points that emerge from studying these texts, although such an approach could also be a fruitful one, if we allow ourselves to be guided by the precedent of the “anthropology of Mediterranean societies” (Giordano, 2012: 6).

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I am aware that the particular way of doing anthropology about which I propose to speak will not come to characterise anthropology in the Balkans overnight. I invite the reader to apply, for the moment, as they go through the whole text, a reading grid always located in the realm of the *possible*, yet with the potential that this possibility holds, from the very beginning, for a leap towards the *necessary*. This contingency is heightened, too, by the fact that, inevitably, the reflections that follow both arise from and are limited by a specific cognitive-formative experience. The evidencing of this state of affairs accords with the spirit of post-modern anthropology, the beginnings of which we may place in what we could term a “crisis of objectivity” in the critique of “colonial” anthropology, in which, for example, “if we cannot be 100% objective, being aware of our concrete conditionings we become more objective; unaware of them, we are blind victims of our own subjectivism” (Albó, 1973: 591). A [*conscious*] taking on board of subjectivity was in fact to be one of the characteristic features of post-modernism in anthropology (Geană, 1997b: 77). On occasion, as in the present case, this is stated in so many words (Gulin Zrnić, 2005: 162, 177; Risteski and Jakimovska, 2014: 177 etc.) as being an additional means of buttressing the proper route to understanding the [limits of the] text. Looking through the lens of post-modernism, there arises the question of whether perhaps *all* that is new in human knowledge should not be understood as bearing the authorial stamp of some specific experiences¹.

The specific experience that is linked to this present enterprise originated from an initiation into the history and epistemic universe of cultural anthropology under the tutelage of one of the few Romanian researchers whose professional and academic trajectory is inseparable from the advance of socio-cultural anthropology itself in Romania in its role as socio-cultural anthropology, Professor Gheorghiță Geană. There followed brief periods of fieldwork in Romania under the overarching paradigm of *anthropology at home*, the standard practice among Romanian researchers, in which sociology and ethnology are combined. However, the formative event that was finally to lead me to think of a Balkan anthropology as an instantiation of socio-cultural anthropology was a lengthy period of fieldwork in northern Greece², followed by countless shorter – between a few days and a month – periods of fieldwork, the majority in Greece but also some in Romania, alone or as part of a team. The knowledge accumulated during my Greek “period” was used in the writing of a number of academic texts and studies, many of them brought together in *Pe drumul către o antropologie balcanică. Repere de antropologie socio-culturală în nordul Greciei*. [Towards a Balkan anthropology. Landmarks of Social and Cultural Anthropology in Northern Greece]³.

¹ One might give as an example perhaps the most important of innovations in the history of socio-cultural anthropology, the participative observation method. A reading of Malinowski’s journal (1989 [1967]) makes it perfectly clear that he did not arrive to carry out his fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands with the method he is credited with pioneering already prepared. It was in consequence of his fieldwork and not before it that he became aware of the detailed application of the method.

² Seven and a half months in 2011-2012.

³ Bucharest, Eikon Press, 2016, 270 pages.

However, the particular body of experience of which we are speaking is not limited to that. It would be fair to say that ever since December 2010, the date of the public defence of my doctoral thesis at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Bucharest, I have been active in the area of socio-cultural anthropology as an *independent researcher*. By this I mean that my institutional status – as a teacher of social and humanities subjects in pre-university education – has no direct connection with my research and scarcely requires me to draw on the skills I have acquired in anthropology. Thus, I have pursued my research outside of any institutional setting. It has been financed out of my own pocket. However, I am in constant and close dialogue with the institutions in Romania in which work of this kind is carried out and with people on the staff of such institutions and I am often referred to by them as a colleague. I am not aware of the existence of any other similarly independent researchers in Romania or anywhere in the Balkans⁴.

I am also including as part of this experience the meanings I employ in this study regarding the nature of ethnography, folklore studies, ethnology, and anthropology (in its cultural and social versions) and the connections between them. Sociology too, as a closely related discipline, needs to be taken into consideration. I stated at one point (Ștefănuță, 2014: 77)⁵ that the distinctions suggested by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his 1958 *Anthropologie structurale* between ethnography (to which we may link folklore), ethnology and anthropology represent a point of maturity in the epistemological evolution of these disciplines. Logically, it could not be otherwise, and the French anthropologist, with his flair for philosophy, also grasped correctly the relationship between them. The problem was that real life frequently fails to take account of logic, and deformations of the scheme were not slow to make their appearance. Standard academic practice would result in ethnography retaining its *descriptive* character⁶, ethnology (to which I link sociology) continuing to mean a theoretical synthesis, *but one realised by a native specialist about their own culture*, and anthropology being the term for that same synthesis when *realised by a specialist within a culture not their own*. The relationships between the disciplines cannot be resolved in this way alone;

⁴ With the possible exception of Marian Nuțu Cîrpaci, an independent researcher of Roma origin. He is involved in research into issues of Roma identity and is attempting a kind of Sapirian “historical reconstructions of [Roma] cultures based on linguistic evidence” (Silverman, 2005: 266). Although his work does not fall *stricto sensu* within the range of anthropology, his research is marked by a holistic style, a principle that is affirmed and reaffirmed in socio-cultural anthropology (Kroeber, 1959: 400; Parking, 2005: 251-252 – describing anthropology as practised in France; Constantin, 2013: 53 etc.).

⁵ However, this is a text that was published many years after it was sent to the journal.

⁶ As regards the ethnographic method and participative observation (specific to anthropology), there are views (Hockey and Forsey, 2012; Ingold, 2014 etc.) according to which the two are not quite the same thing, as frequently seems to be assumed. I agree, but it needs to be noted – as Hockey and Forsey (2012: 71-72) do indeed note – that no one ever goes to the field relying exclusively on just one method, the consequence being that the eventual results of anthropological work emerge from a conjunction of more than one method.

for example, an ethnological study that makes use of concepts and theories drawn from social and cultural anthropology and has recourse to the comparative method when grounding its syntheses thereby becomes a study in anthropology *at home*. As for the aspirations of anthropology to provide a universal knowledge of mankind, these are currently being expressed only very rarely and are more to be seen in the implied comparisons between texts that appear in collective works dealing with a particular theme.

To conclude, we are talking about an experience that is also circumscribed by the limited availability of bibliographical material, it having been impossible, for a variety of reasons, for me to read everything of relevance that has been written on my proposed theme.

REFLEXIVENESS, THE STARTING-POINT OF BALKAN ANTHROPOLOGY

Much has been written about the socio-cultural anthropology of the former Communist countries and about how it relates to their so-called “national ethnologies”. The most recent studies of this kind, referring exclusively to the Balkan region, are those which make up the 17th number (2014) of *Ethnologia Balkanica*. From reading these texts and others, both earlier⁷ and later (Elchinova, 2002: 25; Mucha, 2002: 90; Sokolovski, 2002: 119, Fruntelată 2017 etc.), one is left with the impression that throughout the central, southern and eastern part of formerly Communist Europe, socio-cultural anthropology is in *competition* with local ethnologies, the only possible exceptions being Greece⁸ and Slovenia, where the rivalry appears to be less aggressive in nature⁹. Local ethnologies and the newly-arrived science of anthropology are finding themselves forced to coexist in the same territory, and this is the source of the constant inter- and intra-institutional struggle for power, resources and prestige (Benovska-Săbkova and Krăsteva-Blagoeva, 2014: 60-61; Stewart, 2007: 40 etc.), which have become ends in themselves. The specialist in the Balkan region, in particular, is too poor and too lacking in influence in so-called *mainstream anthropology* to be able to afford the luxury of practising his discipline for truth’s sake, so he has to content himself with the modest role assigned to him in the “hierarchies of knowledge” (Buchowski, 2004).

This rivalry between ethnology (with its ethnography and folklore versions) and anthropology was not preceded by sufficient reflection. In particular, it has

⁷ Some of these were brought together, for example, in Peter Skalník (ed.) *A Post-Communist Millennium: The Struggles for Sociocultural Anthropology in Central and Eastern Europe*, 2002, others have appeared under the aegis of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, and still others have been published in a range of journals. Some of these journals may be found listed in the Bibliography to the present text.

⁸ Greece, of course, was not under a communist rule.

⁹ If we are to take our lead from the impression created by reading what is written about these countries in *Ethnologia Balkanica*, number 17/2014 (articles by Vassiliki Chryssanthopoulou and Jutta Lauth Bacas [Greece] and Tanja Petrović [Slovenia]).

been stated that the ethnology of the Balkan countries needs to go “through a post-national critique similar to the post-colonial one the Occident went through” (Mihăilescu, Iliev and Naumović, 2008: 14, following Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 1997). Such a critique does, to all appearances, exist, but the problem is that it is limited to uttering stereotypes regarding such issues as the ideological nature of these ethnologies, the way they were combined with nationalism, and their lack of relevance in terms of theory (Buchowski, 2012: 25-26). Hence the suggestion (more explicit than otherwise) that if these ethnologies do still possess any value, it is at most a historical one. For a genuinely critical and reflective approach it will be necessary to make the point that ethnography and ethnology were in fact regarded as historical disciplines that had historical Marxism as a theoretical ground (Bitušíková, 2002: 141), but this conception did not prevent native ethnographers during the Communist period from assiduously collecting an impressive quantity of data¹⁰ – data that can at any time be given a range of different interpretations by specialists working after the fall of Communism (Hann, 2013: 14). On the other hand, the intelligent handling of Marxism, evolutionism and nationalism was to lead – in Romania and, I have no doubt, in other Balkan countries as well – to the appearance of works of ethno-sociology that we may regard as masterpieces of world anthropology. As regards the national ethnologies’ alleged lack of relevance in terms of theory, it is debatable to what extent the reproach is a deserved one¹¹ or is rather the product of a Western intellectual ethnocentrism (Herzfeld, 1987). We would likewise need to assess whether – in the ideological context of the Communist period – many ethnographers may not have *deliberately* abstained from any attempts to formulate theory, focusing rather on descriptive empirical work (Uherek, 2007: 46). If one is to reflect on ethnology, there is more to be said about other possible avenues of approach, but space does not permit me to go beyond those already mentioned – the principal aim of this paper being in fact a different one.

My reading of the available bibliographical material, and even some personal observations, have brought to light an interesting phenomenon connected with criticism of national ethnologies: the most enthusiastic supporters of pseudo-reflexiveness are not foreign experts belonging to the anthropological *mainstream* but actually native specialists. Centre stage in this movement is occupied by an “elite” educated in universities abroad (Buchowski, 2012: 28; Hann, 2013: 23). It may be that this attitude of (self)negation creates an illusion of integration in the

¹⁰ As examples of these masterpieces we may cite, for Romania, the three volumes of Henri H. Stahl’s *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmășe românești* [Contributions to the study of joint-tenure villages in Romania] or the two-volume monograph *Țara Bîrsei* [The Bîrsa County] coordinated by Nicolae Dunăre.

¹¹ In my view, this criticism is well founded, at least for the Communist intermezzo when Marxism-Leninism was the sole permitted theoretical orientation and was prepared to tolerate only such theoretical alternatives as were free from socio-political implications, for example Levi-Straussian structuralism.

mainstream, with all the consequent advantages, the greatest being that of access to financial resources matching those of their Western colleagues. We find a parallel to this phenomenon in the criticism levelled at colonial-era anthropology, in which it has been noted that the *insider* anthropologist was not necessarily more aware of the needs of the group to which he belonged than the *outsider* anthropologist, or less exploitative towards them (Lewis, 1973: 589, and a series of commentaries related to this work), with the result that “[T]he more these elite natives drifted from their native culture, the more ridiculous they became – neither Europeans nor Africans!” (Okojie, 1973: 595). This shows that we need to reflect on the extent to which the repudiation of national ethnological traditions brings with it automatic integration and *acceptance* into the *mainstream*.

But it is not only ethnology but anthropology too that requires to be viewed through the lens of reflexivity; otherwise, in the Balkans and generally, there is a risk that the process of “anthropologising” ethnology (Godina, 2002: 1; Podoba, 2007: 31 etc.) may lead to the importing of forms without there existing an adequate ground, and that the old “Marxist dogmatism” may mutate into an “anthropological dogmatism” (Muršić, 2002: 158). In this case, the principal directions of critical relationship will be two in number: that of the anthropology itself which seeks to be imported, and that of anthropologists in the West via whom this importing is frequently achieved. Each of these main directions subsumes within it a number of secondary ones, but, as in the case of the critique of ethnology, limitations of space prevent us from reviewing them all. For the first of these two main directions, the claimed *infallibility* of anthropology and the *appropriateness* of the importing of anthropology could represent some of the secondary ones. To deal first with *infallibility*, socio-cultural anthropology as practised in the West is credited by many experts in the Balkans with having made available the most appropriate tools for attaining a genuine understanding of man in his instantiation as social and cultural organism. However, László Kürti (2002b: 167-169) has raised an issue that is sufficiently serious as to throw this infallibility into question: if Western anthropologists are regarded as knowing what “goes on inside people’s heads”, how is it that so few of their writings predicted the inevitable collapse of the socialist project? And after the failure of that system, is Western anthropology capable of providing a suitable theoretical framework for the understanding of (deficient) “post-socialist” contexts? Tatjana Thelen (2011) casts doubt upon Katherine Verdery’s attempts to explain them in terms of neo-institutionalism. When we turn to *appropriateness*, it needs to be noted that the historical progress of anthropology is inevitably linked to the political contexts in which it is practised. Taking these contexts into consideration, we can make out three stages in the development of anthropology: anthropology as practised in colonies, “Mediterranean” anthropology, a halfway-house version of the former once the colonial system had been dismantled (Giordano, 2012, 2-3, Barrera-González, 2004: 5), and anthropology at home, when the anthropologist – also conscious, it may be, of colonial infiltrations into his research and eager to avoid them (Bruner, 1973: 593) – returns “home”.

This return is inevitably accompanied by the discovery of objects of research other than primitive culture or traditional peasant culture (the preferred research targets of already-existing ethnological and folklore studies). If the trend is indeed to be increasingly in the direction of anthropology at home, then the vectors of the direction of influence will change too, the result being not “the anthropologising of national ethnologies” but “the ethnologising of Western anthropology”, bringing with it, among other effects, opportunities to make good use of ethnological experience acquired in the Balkan region¹². Against the background of these trends and also of the particular history of the countries of the Balkan region, which have been “internally colonized” and have experienced long periods of fighting for their political self-affirmation (Muršić, 2002: 149), is it appropriate to adopt anthropological paradigms that were brought to maturity in a colonial context? And if it is, are post-colonial studies of India, Africa or Latin America relevant to research in the Balkans (Todorova, 1997: 16)?

As regards the other main direction, that which has to do with Western anthropologists, a number of studies have demonstrated their indifference to the work and publications of the specialist ethnologists and anthropologists of central and eastern Europe, even when the Westerners are carrying out fieldwork in these regions (Bošković, 2007: 15; Kürti, 2008: 26, 34; Buchowski, 2012; Hann, 2017: 8 etc.). This indifference takes the form of tendentiousness in the case of the anthropologist Katherine Verdery, according to whom “there was no equivalent to social anthropology before or during the socialist period in Central and Eastern Europe (...) there was only (...) ‘national ethnography’” (Verdery, 2007: 48). Bearing in mind the fact that a major part of Verdery’s professional career was grounded on fieldwork carried out in Romania, a country in which as far back as 1964 there existed an “equivalent” to social anthropology in the form of what is now the “Francisc I. Rainer” Anthropology Institute of the Romanian Academy¹³, her statement cannot be regarded as other than tendentious. At the same time, less major figures in the area of the human sciences accept the existence of this equivalent as “the sole exception to the rule” (Godina, 2002: 4), or as a “notable exception” (Sárkány, 2002: 558). The consequence is that it is impossible to conceive of a dialogue on equal terms between Balkan specialists in the field and their counterparts in the West. Any such dialogue frequently betrays an attitude of undisguised paternalism on the part of the latter (Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2014: 95). Paternalism that is perceived as such by the former, but accepted since “it is important to have contacts with the West. This is where funds and other resources necessary for research work and translations can be found, this is where the power

¹² According to Maria Tudorova, we may even speak of a moral justification for these influences. She turns the accusation that the Balkans appear non-European into a virtue, since “the Balkans never quite seem to reach the dimensions of European slaughters” (1997: 6).

¹³ At that point this was called the Centre for Anthropological Research, and in 1964, through the initiative of Vasile V. Caramelea, someone influenced by Claude Lévi-Strauss (though not by his structuralism), a socio-demographic and cultural anthropology department was set up as part of it.

of definition of science lies, this is where you can acquire academic reputation” (Dressel, 2000: 5, referring to the relationship between Bulgarian socio-cultural specialists and Austrian anthropologists). Against this background, Chris Hann’s repeated call to anthropologists everywhere to also take into consideration traditions in anthropology that are different from Western ones, to accord, in their comparative attempts, due attention to “native ethnographers” (Hann, 2005: viii, 2007a: 10-11 etc.), is an exception. Paternalism is accompanied, too, by the imposition, via native students formed in Western universities, of “subjects and approaches they hold dear, but which are far from Romanian ethnographic or ethnological traditions” (Șerban and Dorondel, 2014: 213-214) and from those of any other country in the Balkans. The two writers quoted here choose to take into consideration the positive aspects of the phenomenon, noting that foreign anthropologists are by this means making a direct contribution to the professionalisation of the discipline in Romania (*ibidem*, 214)¹⁴. But this same phenomenon may mean an “intellectual colonialism” in which “[T]he countries of CEE [Central and East Europe] might become reservoirs of raw knowledge and their social scientists suppliers of case studies which serve as raw material to the scholars in Western Europe, the USA and Canada who are writing their influential collections and monographs” (Skalník, 2002a: viii).

The lack of reflexivity seen in the rivalry between anthropology and ethnology from which we set out at the beginning of this section does not necessarily have to be regarded as an accusation levelled at Balkan specialists in the field. Reflection also has an aspect of orientation, turning round, and thus of looking back. Reflexiveness cannot be expected at the beginning of the journey, but only after one has accumulated a sufficient amount of data to make it possible. The fact that it is only now, many years after the fall of the Communist regimes and the opening of the doors in the previously Communist parts of Europe to socio-cultural anthropology, that more and more voices can be heard suggesting the need for such reflection, must be regarded as a natural phenomenon. If anthropology is indeed an “empire of knowledge” (Geană, 2006: 211), time was needed for this empire to extend both into the Balkans and into ex-Communist central Europe. For the moment, it is the central European anthropologists who seem to have made greater progress with the reflective thinking we have described. For the Balkan region, I know of only Maria Todorova’s *Imagining the Balkans* as a thorough-going attempt that can also be best appreciated when read through the lens of this reflexivity.

THE JUSTIFICATION FOR BALKAN ANTHROPOLOGY

Reflecting on ethnology and anthropology in the Balkans raises the question of how appropriate Western anthropological paradigms are for studying the socio-cultural

¹⁴ In a context in which, in Romania, anthropology was given institutional status before it became professionalised, the normal order of the two steps being thus reversed (Geană, 2002: 104).

realities of the region. But Balkan anthropology, as a way of practising socio-cultural anthropology, would need to be worked out not in opposition to these paradigms but in constant dialogue with them. The proposal to adopt *European ethnology* – which is in fact a reinvention and extension of the *Volkskunde* practised in Germany since 1968, following the initiatives of Hermann Bausinger and his students at Tübingen (Gingrich, 2005: 149) – as a way of carrying out anthropology in the Balkans does not appear to reflect developmental trends in this region. It is doubtful whether “southeast European researchers have in fact moved ever closer to *European Ethnology*” (Roth, 2014: 17) as a consequence of a natural trend developed in close relation with any of other trends to be found in the European academic space, and the assessments provided in the previous section are sufficient evidence for my contention. In addition, the imposition of research paradigms that are in vogue in the anthropological *mainstream* may be a sign of ethnocentrism. This is clearly so in the case of the agenda of *post-socialism*, where the use of a term such as “socialism” has no *emic* equivalent in local terminology, which is constructed around the term “communism” (Skalnić, 2002b: 193-194, note 3). There is a possibility that the proposal for *European anthropology* (Barrera-González, 2004), worked out along at home lines and committed to take account both of local social and ethno-folklore academic traditions and of dialogue with related human sciences, may represent a viable way forward for anthropology in the Balkan region.

There are many grounds for advancing the idea of a Balkan anthropology as an independent way of practising socio-cultural anthropology. I shall give here a brief account of only some of them¹⁵, diverse in nature, but whose common denominator is that the alleged shortfalls in human realities (academic included) to be found in the Balkans constitute in fact so many positive reasons for adopting this suggested style of anthropological practice. The most palpable argument has to do with the geographical unity and historical fate of the region we are considering. This gives us a far stronger basis and justification for speaking of “those institutions, customs and practices which result from the conversation and commerce of thousands of years, the creation of very different peoples” than is the case with peoples “who have come into contact round the Mediterranean shores”, which is how John Davis appears to argue for the idea of “Mediterranean anthropology” (Davis, 2016 [1977]: 13). At the same time, those who live in the Balkans are “different” people and people groups who together inhabit a relatively small region but one whose ethnic diversity cannot be “compared in Europe with any except that of the Caucasus” (Stahl, 1999: 104), which makes it a genuine *anthropological laboratory*. Viewed against this background, the “ambiguousness”

¹⁵ An attempt to set out the arguments in favour of an anthropology for the Balkans has already been made in the chapter entitled “Conclusion: Towards a Balkan Anthropology” of my *Pe drumul către o antropologie balcanică. Repere de antropologie socio-culturală în nordul Greciei* [Towards a Balkan anthropology. Landmarks of Social and Cultural Anthropology in Northern Greece], pp. 217-230.

imputed to the Balkans in the essentialising discourse of the West (Todorova, 1997: 16) becomes even more of a challenge in anthropological terms.

A further argument in favour of a Balkan anthropology is that ethnological studies in the region have combined a tradition of ethnography with an absence of concern for theory (Kodra, 2014: 40; Kurtović, 2014: 47 etc.). The post-modern return to ethnography, which makes room for “other voices to be heard in the world anthropological discussions”, at least at a textual level (Prica, 1995: 8), increases the value of this tradition. Epistemologically speaking, descriptivism in ethnography means devoting attention to the *empirical* side of the discipline. In the dialogue with theory, a concentration on descriptivism may also be taken as a valuable sign of epistemological *prudence*. To short-circuit the path between the empirical and theory is permissible in philosophical but not in scientific thinking. There will of course be a place for theory in Balkan anthropology – if this were not so, its status as an academic discipline could not be justified – but this will be formulated after the accumulation of a critical mass of empirical evidence, not as the result of an obsession with theory, as appears to be the case with many researchers in Romania in their wish to give their efforts a legitimacy that will satisfy colleagues and decision-making forums in the West. At the same time, a predilection for ethnography can also be seen as valuable in that it keeps anthropology within the limits of the human; the dehumanising of anthropology via a rapid leap towards objectivisation, abstractions and theory does not necessarily imply that anthropology is being practised as a genuinely academic discipline; more than that, this trend has at times been criticised as a sure sign of anthropology in the service of colonialism, which had to invent the objectivisation of the human in order to absolve itself from any moral responsibility for human beings (Lewis, 1973: 585-586). Speaking personally, I have always been suspicious of any science of humanity that has led to the human itself being lost¹⁶.

Another argument, and one that makes it almost inevitable that anthropology should develop along independent lines in the Balkan region, has to do with economics and financing. Financial limitations – the fact that the funds available are incomparably less than those at the disposal of the researcher in the West, although it would not be accurate to say that he/she enjoys unlimited funding (Dressel, 2002) – propel anthropology in the Balkans, whether it likes it or not, towards ways of operating in which the Western research model cannot be followed in every detail¹⁷. In every one of the works I read while preparing to write

¹⁶ This is most probably the reason why structuralism was tolerated in the period dominated by Marxist ideology.

¹⁷ A model which in fact finds problems in reproducing itself, since the end of colonialism meant that the governments of countries that belong to the elite in world anthropology terms ceased to be interested in financing anthropological research in the time-honoured style, thus threatening the continuing existence of the discipline (Barrera-González, 2004: 3). The reorientation towards anthropology at home needs to be seen as springing from this motive (among others).

this article, no reason is more universally cited than that of the inadequate level of funding available to researchers in the Balkans. Financing from abroad is very rarely mentioned (an exception would be Benovska-Săbkova and Krăsteva-Blagoeva, 2014: 73, who list a few research projects that have had this kind of funding), which implies that it is not regarded as a way forward. As for financing on a neo-liberal basis via projects (generally “European” ones), to date this has proved (in Romania at least) to be extremely contingent, which means that it cannot be built into long-term planning as a fully predictable source of continuing funding. In addition to this, as noted by Șerban and Dorondel (2014: 223), external financing agencies (the Soros Foundation/Foundation for an Open Society, the World Bank, the IMF, to enumerate some of the best known) impose fields of research they themselves specify as a *sine qua non* for the granting of support – privatisation, the restitution of confiscated land, corruption, gender studies, Roma minority etc. – and then exercise pressure on national governments by using arguments drawn from these research projects. Even if this was not the case, even if a concern with knowledge and the truth was the sole motive behind financing, the need to jump through the hoops of the innumerable bureaucratic procedures involved in project administration and the agencies’ obsession with the meeting of deadlines soon become the researcher’s overriding preoccupations. In other words, the means become the ends, while the true aims of research are pushed into second place. Accepting “solutions” of this kind will keep us far from the ideal of independently financed anthropological research, yet such independence is one of the preconditions for the discipline to escape from the “blind alley” into which colonialism had brought it (Raczyński, 1973: 597). The disadvantages of limited funding turn into a plus from the moment at which we observe that it is something constraining for a Balkan anthropologist to accept the boundaries imposed by a regional anthropology. This “constraining” will however prove to be a source not of frustration but of intellectual satisfaction comparable to what he could have had in distant cultures, with a full experiencing of otherness (see also the first argument). It will, in a natural way, give Balkan researchers a shared intellectual consciousness and an identity of their own.

Other arguments too besides these could be adduced in favour of the Balkans having their own independent way of doing anthropology. But even if we limit ourselves to the three that have been described, so long as we draw strength from a process of genuine reflection, we should be able to grasp that anthropology in the Balkans, if it is indeed to develop as Balkan anthropology – understanding by this the practising of the discipline within the Balkan area by anthropologists who are themselves from that area – will have a future of its own. We are not speaking of some kind of autistic development but, I repeat, one that is in dialogue with other traditions in anthropology and thus makes its contribution to the enduring stock of paradigms of humanity’s self-knowledge.

POTENTIAL DIRECTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT OF A BALKAN ANTHROPOLOGY

In geopolitical terms, the area to be covered by a Balkan anthropology stretches from European Turkey in the east to the countries on the eastern shore of the Adriatic on the west, and from Greece in the south to Romania in the north. While Romania, Croatia and Slovenia are really “border countries” as regards this delimitation, the coincidence of history and intellectual traditions nevertheless causes them to be regarded as part of the Balkans¹⁸, just as the same coincidence has the effect of excluding Hungary from the Balkans and regarding it as part of so-called “Central Europe”. Greece, although it did not experience a period of Communist rule, qualifies for inclusion in the Balkan anthropological area not only on geopolitical grounds but also on the basis of its intellectual tradition. To be more specific, the Greek preference for ethnography/folklore studies, “its practical irrelevance to the development of much social and humanistic theory” (Herzfeld, 1987: 2), and the relatively recent (at the close of the 1980s) introduction into the Greek university milieu of the opportunity to receive a full training in social anthropology (Chryssanthopoulou and Lauth Bacas, 2014: 133) all justify this categorisation.

The area under consideration is frequently referred to as “South-Eastern Europe”. The term is not of recent origin; for example, Nicolae Iorga used it in 1929 in the title of his *La caractère commun des institutions d'usud-est européen*. Today's preference for this expression may reflect political correctness, since the term “the Balkans” has many negative connotations (Olteanu, 2004: 110-114). But even if this name is to be avoided, the expression that replaces it, “South-Eastern Europe”, is entirely erroneous. If we look at a map of Europe we can see that the south-eastern part of the continent is occupied by Russia and Ukraine, with the Black Sea obviating any continuity between them and the Balkans.

If Christian Giordano (2012: 1), in his efforts to characterise the “anthropology of Mediterranean societies”, could exclude “most of the so-called national ethnologies of Mediterranean countries” – and thus also the researchers who practiced them – from this category, we will on this occasion exclude foreign researchers from the category of “Balkan anthropology” and take account only of those from within the area¹⁹. The fact that a group of academics work within a circumscribed area does not guarantee that they will be at one in their intellectual opinions. As Klaus Roth comments when describing the articles in *Ethnologia Balkanica*, no.17/2014, “[T]heir surveys [i.e. those of contributors to *EB* 17 on the subject of the development of ethnology in the countries in which they work] show that even within the *individual countries* there can be quite *different and even contradictory*

¹⁸ Even though Slovenia and Croatia appear not to be entirely in agreement with their being regarded as part of this region (Kürti, 2002a: 84).

¹⁹ This exclusion is not an arbitrary one. Giordano had in mind anthropology as classically understood, while I am talking about the circumstances and arguments – impossible for a foreign/Western researcher to fully comply with – that justify the thought of a Balkan anthropology

lines of development of the discipline(s) since 1990” (Roth, 2014: 10, *italics ours*, S. Ş). This would indicate an academic environment that reflects the ambiguousness of which the Balkans are regularly accused. An accurate assessment would involve the whole current state of affairs being understood in terms of a number of different academic *cultures*, which would mean that it is meaningful to speak of a Balkan anthropology only in the terms of an *ethno-science*. (Geană, 2002: 99). But this would still be a complex task, given that many experts working in other fields became anthropologists overnight after 1990 and that some institutions changed their names (Geană 1997a, 212-213; 2002: 105; Kürti, 2002a, 75-76; Nedeljković, 2014 etc.), while, however, maintaining their previous directions of research unaltered²⁰. We should add here the poor teaching of anthropology at university level, with its lack of employment prospects and with confusion surrounding the official recognition of the titles of “ethnologist” and “anthropologist” (Skalník, 2002a: vii; Nedeljković, 2014: 259; Kartarı, 2014: 292 etc.).

Given the conclusion that “[It] is impossible to predict directions of future developments in the region” (Bošković, 2007: 18), and fully conscious of the lack of consensus among the intellectual community of “south-eastern” Europe regarding anthropology (Hann, 2013: 210), is it not utopian to speak of a role for Balkan anthropology as a specific way of practising socio-cultural anthropology? From the outset we described such a project as something “possible” – a “possibility” which, for it ever to become a reality, in the form in which we envision it or another similar one, will require much time and intense dialogue between experts in anthropology drawn from the whole Balkan region. For the moment, the time is ripe for what I have termed “reflexiveness”.

A Balkan anthropology would need to develop as *regional anthropology*, by combining the methods of *classical* anthropology with those of anthropology at home. The strong point of this style of doing anthropology lies at the training stage: the future anthropologist will have, as a compulsory part of his academic and professional formation, a period of fieldwork that meets the usual canons – a full year without breaks – in a different Balkan country, not the one he comes from, and in a place where the language spoken is not his mother tongue. After this fieldwork he can operate simply as an anthropologist at home, although it is unlikely that he will limit himself to that. Of course, the training in anthropology does not start with this period of fieldwork. One first needs a general initiation into anthropology, which, in a context of inadequate university teaching of anthropology throughout the Balkan region, still implies taking courses that fall

²⁰ These swift changes in the names of institutions can sometimes be justified, for example when “ethnography” becomes “ethnology”. As soon as Marxism ceased to be imposed as the one and only permissible theoretical framework, within the confines of which researchers and institutions followed the honest path of ethnography, there was nothing to prevent the opening up of theoretical concerns and hence a speedy move from “ethnography” to “ethnology”. The problem comes when these concerns continue to be poorly represented, with the result that the new name is undeserved.

under the heading of related disciplines, together with a considerable amount of hard work at what is more or less self-study. There also exists the option of studying at a university in the West. The “initiatory” fieldwork in a different country in the Balkans can be undertaken either at the close of the period of general initiation or after the aspiring anthropologist has found a post in an institution that wishes to have experts with this kind of training background. It may also be preceded by shorter spells of fieldwork in the anthropologist’s own culture, but this is not obligatory. In a departure from the recommendations of Lévi-Strauss (1978: 449), the future anthropologist will *not* look for a “regional specialisation” before carrying out their initiatory fieldwork but will begin study of the official language of the Balkan country in which they plan to carry it out. This is a sure way of maximising their *emic* experience of the real human situations they will encounter during fieldwork. We rule out the possibility of the researcher making use of a translator. For one thing, it is not clear whether this would be feasible financially. In addition, learning to use the language fluently is a guarantee that the anthropologist will easily be able to become a specialist, within the institution to which they belong, in some aspect of the country concerned. The anthropologist’s training does not come to an end with the initiatory fieldwork. I am in agreement with Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard that he needs to study a “second society” in order to reduce the risk that he will “think for the rest of his life (...) in terms of one particular type of society” (Evans-Pritchard, 1951: 76). This second society is, naturally, to be found in another different Balkan country and not in the researcher’s country of origin. This last stage of training does not need to be as intense as that involved in the initiatory fieldwork.

The costs of fieldwork of this kind are not great. Judging from my personal experience, I would regard 5000 euros as sufficient for a year’s stay in any Balkan country. This may be augmented by financial resources that can be accessed directly in the fieldwork area. Here we should be looking particularly at obtaining them through working. In addition, work represents one of the most efficient methods of participative observation, a sure route to integration into the community and gaining access to insider knowledge. The informational flow takes free course when people are working together (Okely, 2012: 80). If we take this possibility into consideration, the sum of 3000 euros – already in hand or reliably promised to become available during the year – would be the minimum threshold at which the aspiring anthropologist could think about beginning their fieldwork. The ideal way of raising this money is, as far as possible, via *meeting the costs oneself*. The initiatory fieldwork should itself be regarded as an investment, as a training stage in which, for the moment, the expenses outweigh the revenue. As we have already stated, financial independence was at one point considered to be one of the necessary preconditions for genuine anthropological work. Such independence is hard if not impossible to attain. During the formative stage, however, financial independence is almost an essential requirement if the skills of the anthropologist-to-be are to mature in a free, responsible and creative way. This is one of the ways in which lack of

funds may be transformed into an opportunity for the development of a science of man that is uninfluenced by factors alien to its nature!

Besides *participative observation* of a Malinovskian kind, *comparativism* represents a further feature of an enduring anthropology (Geană, 2005: 107-108) at the methodological level. We are talking in the first place about intra-regional comparativism within the Balkans²¹. “Eastern” European ethnology is not entirely unacquainted with the comparative method (Godina, 2002: 9), and writings such as those of Petru Caraman in Romania and Nikolaos Politis in Greece (Chryssanthopoulou and Lauth Bacas, 2014: 124) bear witness to an already-existing intra-Balkan comparative tradition (which implies that the “national ethnologies” of this part of the world should not be regarded as hermetically sealed monads). Even basic empirical observation bears out the need for comparativism of this kind. “Mărțișoare” as tied to the branches of fruit trees, a custom recorded in Romania, are also to be found decorating the shrubs in a car park in the village of Zlatna Panega, Bulgaria, or hanging from the branches of wild orange trees in the centre of the ultra-modern-looking Greek seaside town of Nea Kavala; many items of fishing equipment used in the lower Danube region are the same as those to be found along the Evros, the river that forms the land boundary between Greece and Turkey; the same kinds of common ownership of woodland may be discovered both in Romania and in Greece and Albania, and so on. At the same time, the Balkan region also furnishes sufficient terms for differentiation in a comparative approach.

When comparative study is projected, knowledge of one or more Balkan languages facilitates access to literature in those languages. A further way of gaining access to information of relevance for comparative study is by collaborating with other anthropologists trained in the same way. We are referring to experts from one’s own country or from another Balkan state, above all those who have carried out their initiatory fieldwork in the country of the researcher making the enquiry. The effectiveness of such collaboration will be closely related to the degree of interest shown by the institutions to which the researchers concerned belong.

Collaboration between researchers, not simply to meet the needs of comparative study but with a view to *the setting up of research teams*, will be one of the features of Balkan anthropology as soon as the “foundational” stage of the first researchers being trained in the manner described has come to an end. These teams can be made up of researchers from a single country or from different countries. While their composition and manner of working will resemble those of anthropology at home, the purpose of their formation is to carry out research not at home but in some other Balkan country. Financial considerations too are a strong argument in favour of this method. We are talking about small teams and short spells of

²¹ The idea of intra-regional comparativism is not a new one. Chris Hann (2007b: 58) advanced it with a view to the development of a “genuinely cosmopolitan anthropology”.

research²², the aim being to make the most effective use of available time and resources. The teams will have a maximum of *four* members so that they can move around conveniently in a single vehicle, find accommodation easily, and be generally mobile and simple to coordinate. A team of this kind – let us suppose it is made up of Romanian researchers and is going to do fieldwork in Serbia – will have a researcher (or more than one) coordinating the proposed area/s of research, in which they are of course expert/s, at least one person who speaks fluent Serbian, and another with skills in the use of audio-visual and photographic equipment.

There are multiple ways in which fieldwork can be logged and put on record. However, *writing* must not be omitted. Writing forces you to summarise and organise data and to clarify your ideas, thus giving direction to future research. The *research diary* appears to be a very effective form of discourse to this end. We are referring to the keeping of *alternative diaries*, with the *thematic diary* and the *context diary* as absolutely necessary kinds. No team member will be given the duty of keeping two types of diary at the same time, and indeed this would not be possible. Likewise, no two members of the team will be keeping the same type of diary.

There is also the possibility that an anthropologist whose skills have been honed in the manner described will choose to limit his future work to anthropology at home. The epistemological benefits of a training programme that involves a different culture have long been recognised: “It has been noted that anthropologists, because of their outsider role in other cultures, bring a unique perspective to work within their own societies” (Lewis, 1973: 600). These will continue to be part of Balkan anthropology so long as its comparative (in particular) and theoretical reference-points are in the first place the product of the hard cognitive work of Balkan ethnology and anthropology. In whatever way the issue is stated, Balkan anthropology will be in dialogue with all the intellectual traditions of the Balkans and also with those in the West, taking a flexible and creative approach to them and attempting to adapt them *in ways suggested by the actual progress of research*. It will be up to every expert trained as an anthropologist in the Balkans to choose their subsequent professional path and the way they will interact with the various intellectual traditions. If we adopt this point of view, the “rivalry” between ethnology and anthropology loses its meaning, and the suggestion that “ethnographers and socio-cultural anthropologists should form their own clusters within a single department or institute” (Hann, 2007a: 10) is an entirely feasible one.

One of the explanations for Balkan ethno-anthropological literature being so little known among Western anthropologists is linguistic in nature (Buchowski, 2012: 22; Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2014: 94 etc.). This means, in the context of Balkan anthropology, that research results will need to be made accessible by their

²² The forming of small teams has already become part of standard practice in ethnological research in the Balkan countries; it is not a novelty (Benovska-Săbkova and Krăsteva-Blagoeva, 2014: 67, Fruntelată and Mușă, 2014, 2015 etc.).

being published in a bilingual form, i.e. in the vernacular and in a language of international circulation. Such bilingual publication can take place either within the same journal or in different ones, depending on editorial policy. For results to be published in the researcher's native language ensures immediate access for their co-nationals, which also satisfies a moral duty towards the people to which they belong, while their appearance in an international language, preferably English, means that the material can circulate and be accessed in any part of the world. This also applies within the Balkans themselves, the area in which the highest level of interest in the results of such research is to be found. There is a need for a *lingua franca* here too, since it is unlikely that any researcher, however linguistically gifted and motivated, will learn the official languages of all the countries in the Balkans.

Such are the principal lines along which a Balkan anthropology would develop. In Romania, there was openness towards this kind of anthropology at the Romanian Academy's Institute for South East European Studies during the period when Paul H. Stahl was Director. Subsequent changes in the leadership of the Institute have substantially reduced this openness (Stelu Șerban, private communication).

CONCLUSION

By "Balkan anthropology" we understand an anthropology that is regional, with the Balkan peninsula as its area of coverage, and carried out by experts from the region. It is an anthropology that takes for granted as a necessary formative step the period of fieldwork made canonical by Bronislaw Malinowski. Immersion in a different culture means that the aspiring anthropologist will move to another Balkan country and to populations who speak a language that is not his mother tongue. Because it is vital to avert the risk of anthropological thinking based on a unilateral experience, he also needs a second period of fieldwork in another Balkan country (accompanied, naturally, by the effort of learning still another language). This second fieldwork does not need to be as concentrated as the first. The comparative aspect will be primarily intra-regional in nature. An anthropologist with this kind of training will be able to focus on anthropology at home if he wishes, on condition that his comparative and theoretical reference points are drawn chiefly from the Balkan region. The bringing-together of small mono- or pluri-national research teams to make short-term trips to other countries in the Balkans to research one or more issues will represent one of the main characteristics of this kind of anthropological work. Research diaries will be vital working tools for these teams. Balkan anthropology will require an openness towards both local and Western ethnographic and ethnological traditions, with creative use being made of them in order to obtain the best research results. To optimise the accessibility of these results, research reports will be published in a bilingual form, in the researchers' national language and in an international one, ideally English.

The existence of a diverse population inhabiting a well-defined and relatively small area²³, with a common history, a tradition of ethnography and of lack of interest in theory, and relatively limited economic and financial resources – these are some of the factors that can be adduced in support of this kind of anthropology. For it to become a reality, however, will require time and collaboration among experts in the Balkan region, to which may be added efforts to raise the level of interest, on the part of society and of governments, in anthropology and in the kind of knowledge it has to offer. Failing such interest, it is unlikely that an anthropology of this kind will be able to take shape. To date we have reached the stage of the maturing of reflexivity which has in view both the local ethnologies and the anthropological paradigms that are asserting their claim to be adopted, a reflexivity that will potentially result in the recognition of the need for a specifically Balkan-oriented way of doing anthropology. All the visionary effort that has gone into this article has, in fact, been predicated upon *possibility*. A possibility which, I hope I convinced the reader, also bears within it seeds of *necessity*.

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²³ It takes a maximum of two days to travel by car from any point in the Balkans to any other point.

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EUGÈNE PITTARD ON THE ROMANIANS IN THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THEIR 1918 UNIFICATION

DANA POPESCU-SPINENI¹, CRISTIANA GLAVCE²

As it is known, Eugène Pittard's scientific contribution is dated back to the beginning of the twentieth century, when anthropology itself was in course of its disciplinary definition. Based on his energy and enthusiasm, Pittard dedicated his entire life to the study of humans from the perspective of three areas of investigation, namely physical anthropology, prehistory, and ethnography. He was a pioneer in each of these research subfields, leaving deep imprints in their development. Indeed, it was Pittard who introduced the science of anthropology in Switzerland, thanks to a series of foundational initiatives regarding the Swiss Institute of Anthropology in Geneva (1912), the Department of Anthropology of the University of Geneva (1916), and the Swiss Society of Anthropology and Ethnology (in collaboration with Otto Schlaginhaufen and Fritz Sarasin, in 1920). Later on, Eugène Pittard will become the president of the International Institute of Anthropology (Necker L. et al., 1985).

Very early in his career, as soon as he held his PhD thesis (1899), E. Pittard became interested in the study of Balkan Peninsula. According to his own statement, "It was necessary to add a little bit of color to this area unknown from an anthropological point of view" (Pittard: 1920). Due to the friendship he kept with Prince George Bibescu, his first travel in the area took place in Romania, where he will organize seven fieldwork campaigns. Afterwards, Eugène Pittard will have an extremely active presence in the Romanian scientific life, for more than 35 years long.

The first major works on the anthropological traits of Romanians and the ethnic minority groups from the country belong to the Swiss scholar (Papilian V. and Velluda C.: 1941). The rich data basis thus collected will be processed in a series of publications, many of which in collaboration with Romanian researchers specialized within his doctoral school (such as Alexandru Donici and Suzana

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Grințescu-Pop), as well as with anthropologists from the academic centres of Cluj-Napoca and Iași (V. Papilian, E. Sergent, Olga Necrasov). From 1901 on, several works by Pittard were published; they will represent series of monographs on the Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Albanians, Tatars, Germans, Jews, Gagauz, Gypsies, Lazes, Kurds, Armenians, along with three small samples of Montenegrins, Circassians, and Arabs. The same material will nourish further referential works in the European anthropology of the epoch, such as « Les peuples des Balkans: recherches anthropologiques dans la Péninsule des Balkans, spécialement dans la Dobroudja », a book elementary for the all the next researches of the Balkan peoples.

In the category of popularizing science, but of an augmented visibility and a much more detailed information, Eugène Pittard published in fifteen years two of the most beautiful books ever written about Romania by a foreign author: *Dans la Dobroudja (Roumanie): Notes de voyage* (1902) and *La Roumanie: Valachie, Moldavie, Dobroudja* (Editions Bossard, Paris, 1917). The second one is certainly a brilliant tribute to Romania, in the very context in which the country had begun the diplomatic demarches for its unification with Transylvania.

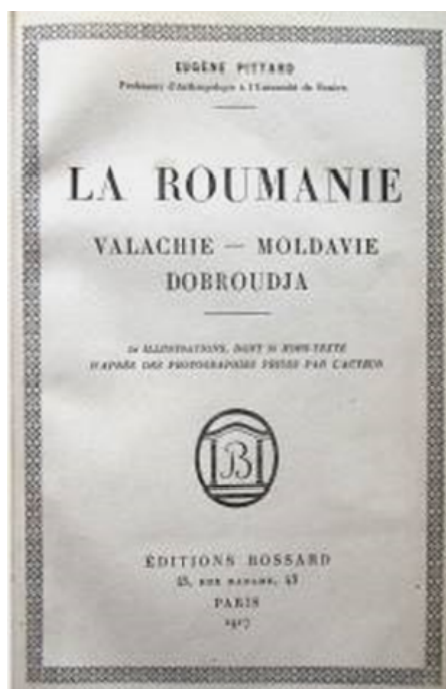


Fig. 1. Main cover of Eugène Pittard's 1917 work *La Roumanie: Valachie, Moldavie, Dobroudja* (Editions Bossard, Paris, 1917).

The period taken into account is that after the fourth / the seventeenth of August, 1916, when Romania – represented by the government led by Ion I. C. Brătianu – signed the Convention from Bucharest, with the powers of Triple Entente (Great Britain, France, Italy, and the Russian Empire). According to the treaty, Romania was recognized rights over all the territories of Austro-Hungary where Romanians lived, including Transylvania, Banat, Bucovina, Crișana, and Maramureș (partially); these regions were established to get integrated into Romania after the end of Great War.

From the very beginnings of *La Roumanie...*, Eugène Pittard makes his dedication full of admiration and love for the Romanian people: « Au Peuple roumain, que pendant mes longues campagnes d'études anthropologiques j'ai appris à connaître et à aimer » He continues in expressing his attachments to the country by commencing the first chapter like that: « Et dans ce moment-ci, alors que le malheur étreint si

douloureusement ce pays, j'aimerais donner à ces souvenirs la valeur d'un témoignage de sympathie » (Pittard 1917: 7)

In his characteristic modesty, Pittard acknowledges (in the same introductory chapter) the scope he followed with his book: « Je n'ai pas voulu, ..., faire œuvre d'historien ... je n'ai pas voulu écrire un livre d'anthropologie et d'ethnographie ... Je ne publie pas un livre d'érudition ... J'ai essayé de donner une synthèse rapide de tous les éléments qui forment le pays roumain et je me suis attaché à évoquer, dans son cadre, ce peuple, ses traditions, ses coutumes, sa vie économique – un peu de l'âme roumaine. » (Pittard 1917: 8 – 9)

However, in what follows, it is easily to notice Eugène Pittard's rigorous work of documentation, as well as his scholarly interpretation and summarizing of his so carefully-structured investigations. In the chapter « *Coup d'œil général sur le royaume de Roumanie* », he provides a geographic description, apparently partial, but actually a very well documented one, accounting for the important changes occurring in Romania to the end of the nineteenth-, and the beginning of the twentieth – centuries: « en un demi-siècle, la Roumanie a donné un formidable effort : agricole, commerçant, industriel – celui-ci un peu moins considérable, – intellectuel. Elle l'a donné avec une rapidité qui effraie quelques uns des Roumains eux-mêmes. Elle est peut-être tentée de brûler certaines étapes nécessaires. » (Pittard 1917: 14)

The geographical account is accompanied by elements referring to the means of transportation, so necessary to the development of any state, and still by another description – at the same time literary and of an economico-social profile: « [...] Rien n'est plus intéressant, pour un voyageur avisé, après avoir franchi la passe de Prédéal (c'est à quelques pas de là que se trouve la résidence royale de Sinaïa) que de descendre dans les gorges de la Prahova et d'atteindre les collines de Campina – sous lesquelles sont entassés les immenses réservoirs naturels de pétrole. » (Pittard 1917: 17). It is evident that such a report on the Romanian geological structures is made by a veritable connoisseur of local geology, climate, flora and fauna.

After this chapter, Eugène Pittard expectedly treated on the “topic” he kept the closest one to his soul, entrusting to it his entire life: the human beings. While the chapter « La population roumaine » consists of some « condensed » elements of demography, one subchapter – perhaps, the most important one – is that in which a presentation of Romanians from outside the Romanian Kingdom is made.

To return to the « condensed » elements of demography, they actually are detailed studies, relying on strong field-collected information, in which Pittard comes to compare at least three periods (between 1859, 1899, and 1912), taking into account the total number of population as well as its geographic and administrative distribution, also including the *ratio* from between the genders, the birth and death rates (especially, the children's decease rate), and the religious identity too.

As it is easily to suppose for E. Pittard's work, such demography subchapter could not ignore an approach of the history of local population, starting from the Stone Age. Based again on a grounded documentation, his pertinent analysis allows him to make the following comment, proven by nowadays research: « [...]

J'ai la conviction que lorsque des fouilles intelligentes et méthodiques seront entreprises dans la Roumanie, elles mettront au jour des restes de l'homme pléistocène. » (Pittard 1917: 27). With respect to Neolithic, while reviewing elements certifying the existence of a local populace and its culture, Pittard shows (1917: 27): « [...] Cucuténi, en Moldavie, est entrée dans la science comme l'une des plus intéressantes de tout l'Orient européen. » His conclusion is « [...] Et c'est pourquoi les archéologues ont pu penser, avec quelques chances de certitude, qu'une même civilisation fleurissait, au même moment, autour de la Mer Noire et de la Mer Égée. » (Pittard, Eugène, 1917: 28)

Related to the anthropology of Romanians, the third subchapter continues the above-mentioned idea and even completes it: « [...] Et rien ne nous empêche de supposer que ce sont ces habitants, au moins une grande partie d'entre eux, qui, plus tard, reçurent le nom de Daces et de Gètes, – pour ne conserver que ces deux dénominations des géographes et des historiens anciens. » (Pittard 1917: 29)

As interested in the analysis of anatomic and compared traits from between the Dacian and Roman groups of population, Pittard reaches the following conclusion: « [...] Il est probable que l'invasion romaine et la conquête de Trajan, n'apportèrent pas beaucoup de troubles dans les caractères physiques de la nation dace ; héritière elle-même des autochtones. Il est vrai que Rome appela, dit-on, de diverses régions de l'empire, des colons. Mais il est parfaitement possible qu'une partie de ces colons, quoique ayant des noms différents, aient appartenu à des groupes humains de même origine que les Daces. Dès lors les caractéristiques ethnologiques de ces derniers n'auraient pas été modifiées. » (Pittard 1917: 30)

Likewise, E. Pittard poses another question, quite naturally dealing with the ethnic influence of Barbarian groups over the Dacian-Roman population. His answer is formulated in such terms as « [...] Depuis vingt ans, j'essaie de soutenir par la plume et par la parole, cette idée qu'au moment des invasions, le peuple conquis ne fuit pas complètement devant l'envahisseur, de même qu'il n'est pas obligatoirement absorbé par le nouveau venu (c'est généralement le contraire qui a lieu.) » (Pittard 1917: 30)

Pittard's anthropological inquiry is based on one's stature traits, as defined in one or another typology in accord with geographic environments considered important in the analysis of ethnic territorial distribution, that is, an analysis (still maintained by some contemporary scholars) claiming the relevance of ethnicity in tracking national borders. Equally discussed in Pittard's work is the skull typology and the cephalic indicators as genetic markers of diverse populations, the results of which he undertakes and upholds based on « [...] l'examen de plusieurs centaines d'individus provenant de presque tous les districts. » (Pittard 1917: 32).

His studies developed within temporal and spatial frames going beyond the borders of Romanian Kingdom are Pittard's argument for the following sentence: « La région alpestre, qui comprend la Transylvanie méridionale et les Carpathes de Roumanie, pourraient donc être considérée comme le creuset ethnique dans lequel, au cours des périodes qui s'étendent depuis le néolithique jusqu'aux temps modernes,

se serait élaboré et maintenu le type anthropologique du *plus pur Roumain*. » (Pittard 1917: 33). This claim is still confirmed by discoveries made in the 1990s and the 2000s.

A last subchapter is concerned with the Romanian population from outside the Romanian frontiers, in 1917: « [...] Au nord et à l'ouest de l'arc carpathique, les Roumains revendiquent, comme des *frères de race*, les habitants de la Transylvanie et du Banat, ceux des Maramures et de la Bukovine. Les frontières fixées à la *race roumaine* dans cette direction, est marquée par le cours de la haute Tisza et la rive gauche de la rivière, jusqu'à son embouchure dans le Danube. Puis il y a la Bessarabie, que la Roumanie, dans le siècle qui vient de s'écouler, a possédée pendant plus de vingt ans. Elle lui fut enlevée, en 1878, par le traité de Berlin. » (Pittard 1917: 35)

Pittard also thoroughly examines what he calls to be « *les Roumains disséminés* » from Macedonia, Greece, and all along the Northern areas of Adriatic and the Peninsula of Istria, where such Romanians were « [...] cantonnés dans les massifs du Rhodope et du Pinde, les Roumains de Macédoine, ou Koutzo-Valaques, ou Valaques boiteux, promènent leurs troupeaux sur ces terres que leurs ancêtres, dit-on, occupèrent dès le IX^e siècle, alors que sous la pression des Huns qui venaient du nord, ils furent obligés à l'exode. ... D'autres auteurs les considèrent comme fixés dans la Macédoine depuis plus longtemps encore. Vétérans romains ayant conquis la Macédoine, ou colons de la Dacie trajane transportés au moment des invasions gothiques, les Aromani du Pinde ont joui autrefois de privilèges divers, octroyés par les Sultans, et les bergers nomades ont possédé des droits de pâtures qui n'étaient donnés qu'à eux. »



Fig. 2. Romanian young ladies from Moldavia (Pustiana), wearing their festive folk costumes *apud* Eugene Pittard, *La Roumanie. Valachie, Moldavie, Dobroudja*, Paris, 1917, p. 3.

In similar details, Pittard speaks of the Aromanians from the Balkans: « On les appelle aussi *Tzinzares* ou encore, selon Lejean, *Maurovlakhi*. Dès 1864, les Roumains du royaume ont relié plus intimement ces Macédo-Roumains à la mère patrie historique en instituant parmi eux, partout où ils le pouvaient, des écoles.» (Pittard 1917: 36 – 37)

All these data of Romanian national identity are concluded in the same “scientific-and-literary” style that characterizes the whole book of E. Pittard: « Terres de la Transylvanie, du Banat et de la Bukovine, terres de la Bessarabie !... Le vieux rêve national réunissait sous la même couronne toutes ces « terres roumaines ». S’il se réalisait par les faits de la guerre actuelle, la Roumanie deviendrait un des États les plus puissants de l’Orient européen. Alors douze millions de Roumains prendraient la place politique qu’ont perdue les Turcs et que sollicitaient les Bulgares. » (Pittard 1917: 36 – 37)

In a similar view, E. Pittard depicts Bucharest in a manner that outlines western European influences together with eastern European aspects, managing to show the atmosphere of the times in which an eastern European curiosity from the beauty of western European cities:



Fig. 3. Romanian peasants in Oltenia, apud Eugène Pittard, *La Roumanie. Valachie, Moldavie, Dobroudja*, Paris, 1917, p. 128.

« [...] Bucarest n’est pas identique à l’image que mes yeux prévenus attendaient. Elle est à la fois une belle grande ville, semblable à celles de notre Occident et une succession de bourgades orientales, qui s’étendent paresseusement sur d’interminables faubourgs. Et pour le voyageur, il est certain que la seconde est

infiniment plus intéressante que la première. Il n'en reste pas moins que la ville moderne, – la Caléa Victoriei, – avec ses magasins brillants, ses grands hôtels, ses cafés, où chaque fin d'après-midi stationne la foule des consommateurs, pourrait symboliser les transformations matérielles de la Roumanie dans la fin du dernier siècle. Ses monuments publics sont ceux d'une grande capitale, le luxe s'y étale, – peut-être trop. » (Pittard 1917: 75)

The Swiss anthropologist equally highlights the Danube, which he calls « La route vivante de l'Orient », underlining its importance for Romania by comparing this with what Nile was meant to be (in Herodotus' words) a “gift” for Egypt. Within several types of description – geographic, commercial, and industrial (especially, the food industry), E. Pittard repeatedly mentions that many Romanian rivers flow to the Danube.

Quite obviously, Romanian history could not have been omitted from E. Pittard's text, given his excursions on themes of ancient times, but also the emphasis (not necessarily temporal, but spatial) put on places of a particular historical significance, such as Ada-Kaleh, Vârciorova (Department of Mehedinți), Turnu-Severin (*Bridge of Trajan*, Department of Mehedinți), Cetate și Calafat (Department of Dolj), Celei (Citadel de Sucidava, Department of Olt), Rusidava (Department of Vâlcea), Zimnicea (Department of Teleorman) etc.

« Les Préhistoriques et les Protohistoriques dont les noms sont ignorés, ont longé ou ont traversé le Danube : les fonds de cabanes néolithiques, les tumulus plus tardifs, les sépultures de types divers, ont jalonné leurs passages. » (Pittard 1917: 110).

Among all these accounts so well documented, Eugène Pittard also proceeds to eulogize Romanian scientific personalities like Grigore Antipa: « M. Gr. Antipa, directeur du Muséum d'Histoire naturelle de Bucarest, est en même temps quelque chose comme le régisseur du Danube. » (Pittard 1917: 122 – 123) Likewise, Professor Spiru Haret is evoked in the following terms: « M. Haret [i.e., the Romanian Minister of Public Affairs] m'a reçu avec l'amabilité la plus parfaite. Cet homme, calme, modeste, réservé, d'une courtoisie charmante, ancien professeur de mathématiques à l'Université de Bucarest, a rendu de très grands services au royaume. J'ai revu M. Haret à plusieurs reprises depuis ce jour-là, et il a bien voulu s'intéresser très vivement à l'enquête anthropologique que je poursuivais dans son pays. J'ai appris dernièrement – et indirectement – sa mort. Je saisis l'occasion de rappeler ici la mémoire de cet homme distingué, dont la Roumanie doit regretter sincèrement la fin prématurée. » (Pittard, Eugène 1917: 89)

As regards the two Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (unified in 1859), Eugène Pittard is especially concerned with the presentation of the history of their medieval foundation. He also mentions the social influence of Wallachian monasteries as well as the Bărăgan Plain (with the local cultivation of wheat and maize).



Fig. 4. Map of Romanian areas researched and presented by Eugène Pittard in the book *La Roumanie* (author of the map: Dana Popescu-Spineni).

As regards Moldavia, it is shown based on a tour (by carriage and by train) to the renowned local monasteries. In such way, thanks to his diplomacy, science and affection to Romania, Eugène Pittard manages to combine the rich and beautiful history of Moldavia with local contemporary realities. Iași, the old capital of Moldavia, is described (among others) with the important Jewish community. Suceava (also a political center of Moldavian sovereigns) is portrayed together with the surrounding areas of Valea Siretului and Monastery of Slatina; Romanian peasants in such places are characterized as well, with their traditions and economic activities.

Another area that E. Pittard refers to from an interethnic viewpoint is Dobruja: « La Dobroudja est une extraordinaire mosaïque de races. Les Turcs et les Tartars (Tatars) y coudoient les Roumains et les Bulgares et, tous, ils sont groupés en villages ethniquement compacts. Point de rencontre de l'Asie antérieure et de l'Europe orientale, la Dobroudja put être pour les uns une escale et pour les autres un abri. Les premiers y rencontrèrent la large vallée du Danube, qui laisse apparaître, sur la rive gauche, les terres basses de la Valachie orientale, et leurs désirs purent se donner carrière. Les seconds, après avoir passé le fleuve ou abordé par la mer, se sont arrêtés dans cette presqu'île qui assurait leur vie et ils y sont demeurés. Lazes, Kurdes, Arméniens, Tcherkesses, Tartares, colons allemands et

colons russes, Roumains de Transylvanie ou de royaume, Bulgares, Serbes, Turcs, Grecs, Albanais, Tsiganes nomades, et combien d'autres : ceux qui disparaissent petit à petit, comme les Arabes, les Tscherkesses et les Nègres, et ceux qui ont prospéré, ayant tous gardé leurs mœurs, leurs costumes et leurs langues, ils constituent le microcosme eurasiatique, le magnifique laboratoire d'ethnologie comparative dans lequel, pendant cinq années de recherches assidues, j'ai tendu mon effort anthropologique. » (Pittard 1917: 207)

In the abovementioned subchapter, the Swiss anthropologist makes brief historical presentations of all the ethnic groups in the area, also including physical-anthropological and ethnographic traits. Besides, regional elements of terrestrial structure, flora, fauna, and local economy are provided, all of which completing the fascinating image of an area in which different people, cultures, and religions manage to peacefully coexist, based on the mutual respect.

Eugène Pittard remembers his readership the unfortunate period of the Great War, during which his monograph is written and contextualized.

As a gratitude to the work of Eugène Pittard, he was granted the titles of honorary member of Romanian Academy, Doctor *Honoris Causa* of the University of Bucharest, honorary member of the Royal Society of Geography in Romania, Comandor of Romanian Crown, and the Order “Star of Romania” (conferred by Romanian King Carol II).

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ANTIFASCIST RESISTANCE AT THE ROMANIA – SERBIA BORDER DURING WW II: TWO HISTORIOGRAPHIES

COSMIN RADU*

INTRODUCTION

In the wake of WW I Romania and Yugoslavia have known unprecedented territorial expansions and significant additions to their pre-war populations. While the maintenance of these new territories and populations within the jurisdiction of each of the states in question was challenging due to systematic revanchist attacks, tensions between border guards and rebellions spread at borders, the Romania-Yugoslavia boundary remained a peaceful and ‘friendly’ area in the 1920’s and 1930’s – the two decades that followed its set up after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In contrast to other Romanian borders (with USSR, Hungary, and Bulgaria), controls at the Romania-Serbia border were rather relaxed, while economic and social exchanges, both licit and illicit, were flourishing. Quite different is what we get into the picture during and after WW II, that is, during the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia and protectorate for Romania – the Axis conquest of Yugoslavia and the partisan war that followed. Romania has not had an antifascist resistance movement comparable to the Yugoslav partisan war, but local actions organised either by the Romanian communist party clandestinely or by different other groups, independently, mostly between 1941 and 1944 (culminating with the what the communist historiography liked to call the national antifascist insurrection started in August 1944, when the Red Army was already in the country, advancing to Bucharest, and Ion Antonescu, the fascist *Conducător* was arrested). However, between 1941 and 1944, but mostly in the period 1943-44, an interesting convergence between the Yugoslav and Romanian resistance movements took place on the backdrop of a very relaxed regime of border crossing between Romania and Yugoslavia (which was basically unchanged since a late 1920’s inter-state agreement for cross-border mobility)¹. The border province of

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¹ The regulation of border crossings came to a dramatic change after WW II, and especially since the scission between Tito and Cominform in 1948, with Romania remaining loyal to USSR until

the former Austro-Hungarian Empire known as Banat was divided between Romania and Yugoslavia after WW I, but the highly diverse populations on both sides continued to cross the border and to remain in contact with each other. On the Romanian side of the border, along with Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, and Jews, there were numerous Slavic minorities including Serbs, Czech, and Slovaks. Many Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, but also Romanians and Hungarians crossed the border into Yugoslavia to join the partisan war against the fascist occupier. Recruitment points were organised everywhere in the Danube's Clisura (the Northern part of the river border between Romania and Yugoslavia). Also, many Yugoslav partisans crossed the border into Romania to ask for material and relational support whenever the struggle against the Nazi was too exhausting. Diverse antifascist resistance groups, either armed or unarmed, with or without the contribution of the Yugoslav partisans were thus formed on the Romanian side too. Local fighting with reactionary forces (including local chetnik sympathisers), disarming German patrols, clashing with fascist authorities, including the Romanian gendarmerie were the main activities of these Romanian-Yugoslav groups formed at the border with a massive participation of ethnic Serbians from Romania and Yugoslav fighters from Yugoslavia. These groups were supported and sometimes organised by the regional and local committees of the Romanian Communist Party. Sometimes, as work with more recently opened archives shows, they were in close contact with Yugoslav authorities of the revolutionary partisan army (including OZNa – the intelligence service of Tito's army).

RESEARCH PROBLEM

This paper acknowledges the diversity of Romanian and Yugoslav antifascisms that converged at the border and constitutes an intermediary step into a more elaborate exploration of the role played by the border and cross-border mobility in articulating resistance and solidarity.

At this research stage, the paper looks comparatively at two historiographic 'traditions' that analysed these developments. The reason for looking into how other historians in different ideological and political contexts explored the problem in question is the sharp difference between them regarding the approach and reconstruction of the historical narrative of local/regional resistance.

The two historiographic operations reviewed here are:

The 'communist' historiography developed in 1960s and 1970s, which basically 'invented' the resistance and, with reference to the Romania-Yugoslavia border during the war, pointed to the regional antifascist movement organized by the

late 1950's. Until mid-late 1960's transboundary mobility was banned for most of the citizens of Romania and Yugoslavia.

Romanian Communist Party in convergence with other local and transnational forces, and

The ‘postcommunist’ (more accurately ‘anticommunist’) historiography produced in 1990’s, 2000’s, and 2010s, which shifts the topic of the transnational antifascist movement of the Yugoslav partisans and Romanian communists into a minimization and even denial of the force of local antifascism; this historiographic tendency ends up in foreclosing antifascism and in ‘inventing’ the topic of a territorial claim on the Romanian Banat made by Tito’s partisans.

These contrasting approaches to the antifascist resistance illustrate larger debates connected to the war time resistance in Europe, and also illustrate the effects of the post-1989 anticommunist ideologies at work in Eastern and Central Europe for historical work of reconstruction.

As Hobsbawm (1994) put it (and many other scholars particularly interested in the European resistance , including Miller (1999), Pezzino (1995), Di Scala (1999), Painter Jr (1999) resistance in Europe was a mythology as it provided the postwar governments with legitimacy in a context in which resistance movements were quite negligible in terms of military effectiveness. This is the case with Romania and Yugoslavia after the war – both the Yugoslav and Romanian communist parties that were agreed and supported by the Soviet Union developed historiographic strategies to augment antifascist resistance. Similarly, Romania and Yugoslavia illustrate the diversity and contradictions of the partisan resistance movements described by the literature (Hoare 2002; Syndbaek 2009). The main purpose of this paper is not to build a new case of national resistance but to suggest and make possible a future study of resistance that will examine the transboundary mobility in its relation to existing and changing social structures and the widespread discontent with the war and the fascist policies.

While the ‘communist’ historiography mentioned above made of the WW II resistance a mythological foundation for the Romanian Communist Party, the ‘postcommunist’ historiography silences resistance and antifascism altogether (Bazac 2006). My paper shows that none of these (even less so the ‘postcommunist’ historiography which could not produce any critical account of the openings provided by the historians’ work of the 1960s and 1970s) is productive for the reconstruction of a historical narrative of resistance based on the agency of the local resistance fighters and activists.

This paper proposes a future reconstruction of the transnational antifascist resistance at the Romania-Yugoslavia border as a social history which will have to look at the cross-border mobilities, economic exchanges, intra- and inter-ethnic solidarities formed by different groups of borderlanders. This social history will have to explore the correlations between the local communities’ intense negotiation of border controls, mobilities (many times clandestine mobilities of goods and persons), and the widespread antifascist and antiwar campaigning which were based on complex social relations that spanned ethnic, national, institutional

borders. These topics receive much less attention in the historical literatures on the problem in question. This social history will need to be based on archival research and as much as possible on ethnographic interviews taken with witnesses or persons who were close to the witnesses of the local developments during WW II.

The examination of the transnational antifascist resistance will also be connected with border and mobility studies. An important part of the scholarship developed in border studies emphasizes the importance of borders as interstitial spaces of nation states where bureaucracies and ideological formations are permanently challenged by subversive and powerful transboundary mobilities (Macgaffey 1987) which produce alternative social and political forms, and sometimes new polities (Sahlins 1989). Another part of the literature argues for the complicity of various local forces with the nation state (Nugent 2002; Galembea 2012; Raeymaekers 2009; Radu 2009, 2010). In this version of the scholarship, mobilities and boundaries play a limited role in social change.

1960s-1970s: THE 'COMMUNIST' HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RESISTANCE

The literature on antifascist resistance developed under the patronage of the Romanian communist party describes the border (between 1940 and 1950) as a lively place of crossings, organizing, strategizing, offering the economic, ideological, and political resources for survival and resistance against the perils of war. Copoiu et al. (1973) stress the set up in the autumn of 1943 of the antifascist front in Romania, by the communist party. The front was joined by urban workers, peasants, and some bourgeois political forces. There were many reasons for a growing antifascist feeling in the population: the annexation of Northern Transylvania to Hungary under the arbitration of Germany and Italy after the second Vienna Award, the anti-Semitic policies of the legionaries and Antonescu's regime run in parallel with unprecedented privileges for the German minority etc. At the Romania-Yugoslavia border, contradictions between the German bourgeoisie and Romanian bourgeoisie in Banat also contributed to a growing antifascism. Marin and Oancea (1971) and Patrascanu (1946) show that as of 1943, the German capital held about 27 % of the total industrial production in Romania. The German ethnic group in Romania was given extraordinary powers by a decree of the Antonescu Administration in November 1941 and local Nazi organizations emerged throughout Banat. Labour camps were also run everywhere, in parallel with the anti-Semitic expropriations. Jews, antifascist activists, communists, members of other ethnic groups including Hungarians were sent to these camps systematically. Increasing militarisation of factories and a ridiculous Romanian – German commercial agreement have put local industrial workers in serious difficulties with shrinking salaries and working hours.

The Romanian Communist Party clandestinely organized local patriotic groups who were joined by volunteers who wanted to fight against the fascist occupiers.

Among these, Marin and Oancea (1971) mentioned cultural associations, Jewish antifascist groups, minority groups, including Yugoslavs, Czechs, working class Germans who were at odds with the local Nazi organizations etc. An estimated number of 2,000 persons was believed to form the core of the antifascist struggle of communist inspiration in Banat, with much larger numbers with no systematic antifascist activity.

Anti-fascist resistance run by Romanian communists in the border area mainly concentrated on the urban industrial localities like Timisoara, Resita, Arad etc. and consisted in distributing antifascist propaganda, organizing workers to slow down work cycles and sabotage the war industry, struggle for better working conditions through strikes. Literatures on antifascist resistance produced in the 1970's quote archives of the communist party's central committee that mention numerous strikes and sabotage operations in which the local communist organizations had an important organizing role. One such sabotage operations took place in 1943 at the locomotive factory in Resita where members of the communist youth organization destroyed an important number of mine shooters and many cannon transporters' tyres (Marin, Oancea, 1971). Another example is the Anina miners' strike of 1940 when the miners stopped work to protest against the militarization of workplace and the terror instituted at their station, and to demand pay rises for their work. Numerous similar strikes were organized everywhere in the towns and cities at the border. Only between January and July 1943 there were about 92 work conflicts. These historians note that the communists were active in distributing their propaganda also in rural areas. Wherever they came into contact with peasants, they encouraged them to refuse to donate the cereals that the state collectors often requested to support the war effort on the Eastern front. One such propaganda addressed to peasants read: 'Peasants! Don't give the imperialist troops anything. Only the struggle in union with your brother workers from towns will give you freedom and peace, and only in that way you will receive land'².

Defections from the army were very popular among the young villagers. 50 young people are mentioned to had defected only from the Cenei village. From Dinias, they are 150. Belobresca, Socol, Divici, Radimna were also localities with large numbers of defecting villagers.

The communists' solidarity with the prisoners of the labour camps is also emphasised. A report of the Resita police dated 17 Nov. 1942 states that : 'The workers clandestinely get in touch with the prisoners whom they help with food and clothes. Seven workers from Resita were thus condemned by the Martial Court'³.

The communist historiography stresses that the communist resistance was a leading force in contesting and resisting the fascist occupation and that the various forces that struggled against fascism in the South western part of the country were

² PCR Central committee's Archives Collectionno. 42874 – FN, p. 2-7.

³ ISISP archive collection no. 9, file no. 42, p. 8-13.

actually organized by the communists who were also the leading force of the August 1944 'insurrection'. Under the guidance of Romanian communist committees there were also some antifascist groups of the Serbians in Banat which were set up in 1941 and which were involved in political work with the local Serbian population. All Serbian villages at the border had their antifascist committees. Some were still working closely with the Romanian communists, while others were independent, constituted from local initiatives. Marin and Oancea (1971) and Copoiu et al. (1973) mention that the Serbian committees organized mass defections from the army and constant clashes with the gendarmes. Many partisans crossing the border to Romania were supported by the Serbian committees from the border villages. Similar antifascist committees of Czechs and Slovaks were set up in the same area and these are described also through their strong links to the Romanian communists. Also, many borderlanders from the Romanian side crossed the border into Yugoslavia to join the partisans.

1990s-2010s: THE 'POSTCOMMUNIST' HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RESISTANCE

The access to the former Romanian Securitate Archives produced a major shift in the problem of antifascist resistance at the Romania-Yugoslavia border. The leaders of various Slavic antifascist groups in Romania were interrogated by the Securitate in 1950, in the period of the growing tensions at the border between Romania and Yugoslavia in the aftermath of Tito's expulsion from Cominform (1948). The archives resulted from the hearings show a secessionist movement associated with some of the Yugoslav communist partisans who were active in Romania especially in the period 1944-1947. Various works, including Milin and Milin (2017), Milin (no date), Milin and Milin (no date), and Boia (2015) document this new perspective on the problem. Milin (no date) mention that the Yugoslav partisan council formed in late 1944 which made the object of interrogations was a council of national liberation whose aim was to obtain the annexation of the Romanian Banat to Yugoslavia⁴ and for this task its members had full support of OZNA (the Yugoslav intelligence). Milin (2017) describes the Yugoslav partisans who crossed the border into Romania and their Romanian adepts as terrorists whose role was to persecute military and civil authorities in Romania. Milin pushes the interpretation to the point that OZNA was the rule maker in the areas of Banat where the Yugoslav communists partisans were active. He also describes the conflicts between the communist partisans and chetnik partisans in the Romanian border villages in the backdrop of the so-called Yugoslav secessionist movement.

⁴ CNSAS Archive, Bucharest, P-1143, vol. II, 34-35. Interrogation N. Radosavlievici, 12 May 1950, cited in Milin (no date).

Boia (2015) makes a similar case for the topic of secession whose main actors were the Yugoslav Antifascist Council founded in 1944. Boia quotes a December 1944 Romanian S.S.I. report (No. 34460) that describes intelligence according to which the armed ‘terrorist’ Partisan groups were gathering along the Romania-Yugoslavia border to initiate an assault against the Romanian authorities. The report mentioned by Boia also shows that partisan groups attacked Romanian border posts, ‘plunder Romanian villages, kill, and then retreat with booty on Serb territory’. Boia also mentions that the main mission of the Yugoslav partisans coming to Romania as refugees or clandestine border crossers was to obstruct railways and navigation for German troops, to join Soviet army that was already in Romania in the second half of 1944. Boia does not develop the issue but admits that the intelligence reports might have emphasised the secessionist purpose of the partisans from the Romanian Communist Party’s obsession with its weakness and aspiration to become the main negotiating power with the Soviet victors. Milin and Milin (2017) look at this aspect too stressing that the presence and activity of the Yugoslav communist partisans in Banat at the end of the war was a serious threat to a Romanian communist party who, unlike the Yugoslav communists in Yugoslavia, lacked social support and legitimacy in Romania and the Soviet Union.

Boia and Milin and Milin tend to see the antifascist resistance operated by Yugoslav partisans in Romania as a pretext for anti-Romanian activity, with the peculiar fact that the actions of Yugoslav organizations in the Romanian Banat continued until 1947 when, the authors show, the antifascist resistance had no longer an object (with the German troops gone).

‘The Romanian population and authorities in the Banat lived in constant fear, which was gradually increasing with every new Serbian attack. Partisans crossed the frontier (at Cruci or other border points) either in passenger or Soviet military trains, or trucks on the Vârșet-Deta-Timisoara route. On Romanian territory, these Serb Partisans roamed the region freely. They also established contacts with the local Serb irredentists, engaged in agitations and demonstrations, marched in military formations under the Serb flag, considered themselves as occupiers, and demonstrated against Banatean Romanian authorities, which they refused to recognize. Moreover, they considered the existing Romanian-Serb frontier as having been abolished’ (Boia 2015: 28).

However, the installation of new governments in Romania and Yugoslavia in March 1945 offered Romania much more resources to manage the Yugoslav question in Banat. An all-Slav cultural congress scheduled in May 1945 (through which it is believed that the Yugoslavs wanted to increase their popularity among the Serbian ethnics in Romania) in Timisoara was banned by the Romanian authorities. This outcome also suggests, Boia shows, that the Romanian communists were probably more successful in their negotiations with Stalin than were the

Yugoslavs so that they could manipulate the problem according to their interest, and against the Yugoslavs.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The previous sections illustrated different and autonomous chronologies in historians' discourse on the resistance at the Romania –Yugoslavia border during WW II. With a different access to archives and a selective use of them, the 'postcommunist' historiography of the local antifascist resistance in the Romanian Banat turns resistance (and antifascism) into a non-topic.

While the 'communist' historiography 'invented' the antifascist resistance run under the Romanian communist party in its clandestine activity in a country (Romania) where the antifascist movement was actually rather weak (Bazac 2006), the postcommunist historiography denies and forecloses the antifascist force of the communist party and the transnational movement prompted by the fascist occupation and opens up new topics – such as the territorial claims of Yugoslav communist partisans on Romanian Banat.

The overall tendency of the 'communist' historiography is to emphasise the unity of the antifascist movement and a widespread solidarity between urban workers, rural populations, and a multitude of small organizations such as local minority councils, Jewish self defence groups, patriotic fronts, national liberation organizations organized locally etc. all under the guidance of the Romanian communist party committees. The 'communist' historiography, which is based mainly on press materials and archives of the communist party's central committee, also mentions the transnational resistance materialised in large numbers of volunteers from Romania who crossed the border and joined the partisan war in Yugoslavia. It also mentions the support and local organizing of the communist partisans on the Romanian side of the border and the numerous clashes with the fascist authorities. However, maintaining that the Romanian communist party was a successful hegemon of the antifascist movement (until 1944) is certainly a reflex of the context in which the relevant archives were examined in the 1960's and 1970's which certainly had to do with the national communism of Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceausescu in Romania (Verdery 1994).

The 'postcommunist' historiography gives up the notion of the antifascist resistance and shifts the focus to the machinations of the Romanian communist party to conquer and consolidate power in the postwar situation under the threat of the Yugoslav partisans who had serious territorial claims from Romania – claims that, this literature shows, were ultimately negotiated between the newly elected heads of state and governments (Tito and Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej etc.) and Stalin. Assuming this position, the 'postcommunist' literature takes the well-known conservative ideological position of anticommunism which undermines the very

value of antifascism and, in my case, the transnational agency of the borderlanders in their everyday struggle against fascism. It is true that in the 1990's-2010's when the few materials published on the Yugoslav partisans activity in Romania were published and researched, access to new archives was granted. A return to the archives though comes with the collapse of entire research problems and the invention of new topics which are highly decontextualized and depoliticised.

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FROM ETHNOREGIONALISMS TO TRANSNATIONALISM: CONTEMPORARY AREAS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

AN INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR CHRISTIAN GIORDANO*

Interviewer:

MARIN CONSTANTIN

Marin Constantin: Professor, you are a well-known specialist of that domain of anthropological research you referred to (2012) in terms of the “Anthropology of Mediterranean Societies”¹. This seems to have been your long-lasting “area of disciplinary interest”, taking into account the theme of a PhD thesis in sociology that you held in 1973 on Sicilian farmers and artisans. We would like to know something of the theoretical and methodological reasons of such a regional sphere of doing anthropology: was it – as a possible version of the “ethnologie du proche” – radically different from the classical study of primitive societies? Is there a ground for continuity towards what today's anthropologists do in more or less neighboring countries and cultures?

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¹ Christian Giordano, “The Anthropology of Mediterranean Societies”, Foreword, in Kockel, U. Nick Craith, M. and Frykman, J. eds., *A Companion to the Anthropology of Europe*, Oxford (Blackwell), 2012.

Christiano Giordano: *Well, I was always against the separation between “ethnologie du proche” and “ethnologie du lointain” which contains an artificial separation between “ethnologie de l’Europe” and “ethnologie exotique”. First, I am against the term “ethnology” because I define myself as an anthropologist looking at the unity of mankind and not at different cultures or ethnic groups although I was doing fieldwork in “only” three societies: Italy (Sicily), Bulgaria (Dobrudzha) and Malaysia (George Town on the island of Penang where still I am doing fieldwork). Nevertheless I tried always to enlarge my research perspective.*

Further “Ethnologie du proche” is a tricky term because at the end of the day it divides the mankind in Europeans and Non-Europeans. Therefore it contains a classical ethnocentric separation creating the division between the “West” and the “Rest” or between “we” and the “others”. At the end of the day this dichotomy is a new and a bit more “politically correct” formulation of the old Western dichotomy of “civilized” and the “primitives”.

My PhD dissertation and my further long term field researches on and in Sicily (from 1968 to 1986) were based on a specific theoretical approach concerning the interpretation of my data.

This approach was mainly influenced

1) By the classical German sociologists like M. Weber, G. Simmel, A. Schütz etc.

2) By the British anthropologists especially the Manchester School (M. Gluckman and his scholars who were mainly Africanists studying so called “primitive” or “tribal societies”). From the Manchester School I learned the relevance of conflicts (i.e. factionalism) and the crucial role of the personalization of social relations (clientelism, patronage, cronyism, familism etc.). The analysis of my field data about the organizations of peasants and artisans formal organizations (like co-operatives) were based using these terminology and the connected empirical methods like the network analysis.

With this approach I continued to do fieldwork in the Mediterranean also after my dissertation in the frame of two research projects at the University of Basel and the University of Frankfurt. My habilitation “Die Betrogenen der Geschichte” (the Dupes of history) is a synthesis of my different field experiences in the Mediterranean societies.

This socio-anthropological approach was extremely useful also when I was doing my empirical research and I was interpreting my fieldwork data on the re-privatization of the collectivized agriculture in Bulgaria after 1989. Through the collected empirical data I tried to show the continuities between the old socialist and the new capitalist agrarian economy. I was especially interested in the reproduction of the political and economic elites at local level (Dobrudzha)

In Penang I do actually another kind of fieldwork showing the problems and the challenges of a multicultural coexistence in a society which is much more complex (from the cultural point of view) than European societies which are politically organized in Nation-States and therefore based on the unhealthy

asymmetry between entitled nations and ethnic minorities. Probably we will deal this crucial issue later in this interview.

MC: Accounting this time for a broader conceptual openness of your work, that is, the *transnational regionalism* in contemporary Europe², do you regard its “*transboundary, transnational or transcultural social imaginary, and postethnic connotations*” as a sustainable model of cultural coexistence to address the challenges of globalization? Are traditionally multicultural regions like (for instance) Banat and Dobroudja in Romania to be understood today as cases of *transnational regionalism* in the European Union framework, or rather as ethnoregionalisms relevant for their local *spaces of experience, horizons of expectation, cognate differences, family resemblances* (which you describe somewhere else speaking of the diachronic analysis of any *historical region*³)?

CG: *I think that all the theoretical approaches concerning transnational and post-ethnic regionalisms are related to dreams of the nineties of last century and of the first decade of 21st century. Today we have to deal with new ethno-nationalisms (Catalonia, Scotland and may be in the near future Banat, Dobrudhza, Transylvania, Padania, Bretagne etc.) which were born in the frame of ethno-regionalisms. As a matter of fact we have to deal with a déjà vu. The new ethno-nationalisms are only a bad photocopy of the nationalisms in 19th century. These first nationalisms of the first half of 20 century were reducing Europe to a puzzle consisting of small pieces. Once more history seems to repeat the processes of the past.*

MC: How would you generally characterize ongoing facts of cultural (self)identification and integration in Europe? You argue that “Multiculturalist conceptions [...] were [...] marked by an essentialist approach, which tends to reify ethnicity and regard it as an almost natural and unchangeable phenomenon”⁴. At the same time, in your viewpoint, “The idea of a *postnational Europe* may appeal to the open spirits, but for the present it is a chimera and will remain so also in the near future”⁵...

CG: *Ethnicity is coming up again or maybe it was always there. The idea of a postnational Europe remains a chimera and will remain also in the future. At the moment it is also possible that the European Union will broke down mainly*

² Christian Giordano, “Political Regionalism in a Globalized World-System: Local Identity Constructions in Europe”, in *Identity Politics: Histories, Regions and Borderlands*, Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis XIX, *Studia Anthropologica* III, 2009, pp. 93–106.

³ Christian Giordano, “The Anthropology of Mediterranean Societies”...

⁴ Christian Giordano, “Paradigms of Migration: From Integration to Transnationalism”, *Kulturai Visumene. Socialinių tyrimų žurnalas*, 2010, Vol. 1 (2), pp. 11–27.

⁵ Christian Giordano, “Political Regionalism in a Globalized World-System [...]”

because of the own bureaucratization process. But in this case the responsibility will be in Brussels. One of the reasons of the present comeback of nationalisms is caused by the EU policies.

MC: In approaching ethnicity, you mention “the sudden revival of virulent ethnonationalisms in post-socialist Eastern Europe” and phenomena of “ethnicization” of some minority groups (such as the Gypsy / Roma), as conducted by their elites in the quest for civil rights equal with those of national majorities⁶. Again, while discussing migration in nowadays Europe, you seize a relation between wide-spreading nationalism in *autochthonous* population, on the one hand, and the development of immigrants’ *parallel societies*, on the other. As a matter of fact, how much ethnic identity is still pertinent as an anthropological category of analysis? Is it (after all) “native”, is it “construed”?

CG: *All ethnic identities, being social one, are “construed”. There is always an “identity management” done normally by national or local elites or by people who have social or political power. Therefore it is crucial to avoid an “anthropological populism” which is unfortunately quite widespread in present anthropology and as well often in the social sciences. It is a kind of “politically correctness” because the social researcher should be with the people and not looking for those who supposedly are against the people. I am quite suspicious about a so called “engaged anthropology” and I am against such a quite normative point of view. Anthropologists should reconstruct the “social logic” of empirical facts, processes and behaviors. They should look for the “socio-cultural rationality” of human actions without the “populist background” connected with “political correctness”.*

I am still fully in accord with Max Weber who underscored that social scientist should detect the “meaning” of social actions. To me anthropology shall be an “interpretive discipline” as conceived by Clifford Geertz. Therefore it is important to have a multiple perspective (i.e. “from below” and “from above”) in order to analyze sociability as a “phénomène social total” as Georges Balandier has conceived.

MC: Based on the frequent research projects and study trips that you engaged (between 1989–2004) in countries like Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Poland, Romania, and Slovenia, and in relation to your enduring interest in the anthropology of Mediterranean societies, how would you argue for the relevance of another regional focus of our discipline, that of Southeastern Europe?

⁶ Christian Giordano, Andrea Boscoboinik, Mihai Curelaru, Sorin Gog, Adrian Neculau, Teodor Nițu, François Ruegg, Daniela Tarnovschi, Daniela Zaharia, *Roma’s Identities in Southeast Europe: Romania*, Ethnobarometer Working Paper Series, 2008.

CG: My main epistemological interest is to realize a global “comparative anthropology”. My first empirical field experiences in Mediterranean society were important for the choice to do research in South East Europe. My interest for the question of the historically rooted “public mistrust” and the lack of the State legitimacy despite the existence of a modern legal system begun during my first fieldwork in Sicily and continued doing the fieldwork in South East Europe (especially in Bulgaria but also in Romania and the Western Balkan region). This was the most important “leitmotiv” during my fieldwork.

It is also true that my choice to do fieldwork in Malaysia were significantly influenced by my experiences in South East Europe. I should underscore that the town of Penang in Malaysia is probably my most important and long term field.

Again you can detect my refusal to separate an “anthropologie du proche” from an “anthropologie du lointain”. Both are irretrievably linked. Nevertheless my fieldwork in Malaysia was influenced by my southeast European experiences with forms of radical nationalism. Looking at Malaysia I was puzzled why this country despite the striking ethno-cultural differences between Muslim Malays, (more or less 60% of the total population) Buddhist-Taoist-Confucian Chinese (30% of the population) and Hindu Indians (8% of the population) were much more tolerant. Of course there are permanent tensions but thanks to a consociational political system (Malaysia is a consociation and not a national State following the typology of tolerance/toleration proposed by the American political philosopher Michael Walzer in the book “On Toleration”) and also thanks to concrete everyday practices there is much more tolerance/toleration among ethno-cultural different actors than in Europe.

Thanks to these long term field experiences (more than 20 years) I suppose that it is reasonable to question the possibilities concerning a fair recognition of ethno-cultural diversity in European national States.

I am convinced that national States are obsolete political institutions (mostly of the 19th and first two decades of 20th century) unable to deal with the actual increasing ethno-cultural differences due to the massive immigration and mobility. Actually isn't it an absurdity that I am an Italian citizen born and officially still living in Switzerland and at the same time being a permanent resident in Malaysia? Due to my field experiences I have learned the following lesson: National States has, because of a specific socio-cultural dynamics, a temporary life i.e. they were born, they have a glorious life and one day they will die. Of course I cannot say when, but the actual founding ethnic myth of “one State, one nation, one culture” and consequently the “economy of national borders” in Europe are already and definitely outdated. Therefore the revival of old fashioned nationalisms is tragic and at the same ridiculous. The old screenplay of “l'Europe suicidaire” (as the Jewish philosopher Leon Poliakov showed long time ago) is becoming once again actual?

As you can see, thanks to my experiences in Malaysia, I have learned a new perspective concerning as well the present European occurrences. This is one more reason to be against the splitting in two anthropologies. This because field researches in “foreign” and “far away” societies are inspiring also for the empirical investigations in “our” i.e. “near” societies. As a conclusion: My main principle is: a real comparative anthropology should avoid the principle of a “methodological difference” dividing the world societies in two or more categories and eventually inventing an ethnocentric ranking.

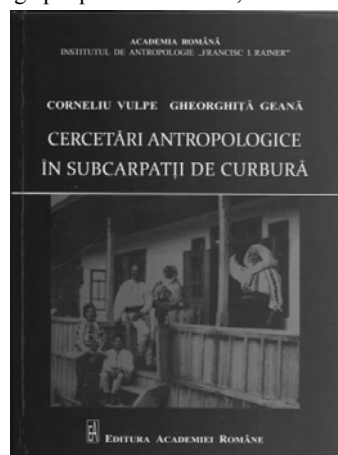
Corneliu Vulpe, Gheorghiță Geană, *Cercetări antropologice în Subcarpații de Curbură* [Recherches anthropologique dans les Sous-Carpathes de Courbure], Editura Academiei Române, București, 2017, 130 pp. + XII planches

Compte rendu par Mircea Ciuhuța*

Le volume monographique en discussion a été conçu selon la vision de l'anthropologie roumaine et de son fondateur, le Professeur Francisc Rainer (1874–1944), ainsi que l'étude des populations roumaines se fasse spécialement sur des groupes qui, dans certaines conditions géographiques et culturelles, ont réussi à conserver relativement inchangés des certains traits, biologiques et culturels aussi, une longue durée de temps, accomplissant un sort d'« isolat zonal ». C'est le cas (parmi d'autres) de la zone de Vrancea – ou le « Pays de Vrancea » – qui remplit totalement ces exigences, tel qu'elles furent vérifiées pendant six décennies, grâce à trois campagnes de recherches anthropologiques : en 1927, avec la contribution de Fr. Rainer, dans la campagne sociologique coordonnée par le Professeur D. Gusti ; en 1956, avec le travail d'un collectif dirigé par Olga Necrasov ; enfin, entre 1984–1987, avec l'investigation menée par un collectif sous la direction de Gheorghiță Geană. L'ouvrage présente les données recueillies dans cette dernière campagne. Les deux auteurs ont des profils complémentaires, Dr. Vulpe étant spécialisé en anthropologie biologique et Prof. Geană en anthropologie socio-culturelle.

En ensemble, le livre comprend 130 pages de texte, divisé en 7 chapitres, suivis de 12 planches sépia avec des photographies de quelques-uns des villageois étudiés, des photographies qui présentent des types anthropologiques spécifiques à la région, une préface écrite par le Professeur Constantin Bălăceanu-Stolnici (le Directeur honoraire de l'Institut d'Anthropologie « Francisc I. Rainer » et membre honoraire de l'Académie Roumaine).

Le premier chapitre décrit le cadre historique et géographique de la région de Vrancea. Les villages du « Pays de Vrancea » sont situés dans la dépression de Vrancea, s'étendant vers la Transylvanie et la Valachie, dans la proximité des montagnes de Vrancea au sud. Historiquement, la zone présente des traces d'habitation continue, à partir des restes du Paléolithique, puis aux temps des cultures daciques, romaines et post-romaines. Des habitants sont ainsi mentionnés en 1234 par le Pape Grégoire IX en évoquant les « Valati » (Valaques), c'est-à-dire une population chrétienne de rite grec orthodoxe de Moldavie du Sud (Vulpe & Geană 2017: 22). La première mention proprement-dite de la région date depuis le règne d'Alexandru cel Bun (1431), de documents de cette époque révélant que les villages les plus anciens sont construits sur la rivière de Putna (1423). Au début du dix-huitième siècle, l'erudite humaniste Dimitrie Cantemir parla de l'autonomie administrative de la zone (Vulpe & Geană 2017:17). En plus de l'esprit d'indépendance, il est de remarquer aussi la ténacité, valeur avec laquelle ces communautés rurales regagnaient leurs droits devant les tribunaux, comme en 1817 lorsque les « Vrânceni » obtinrent la



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reconnaissance de leur organisation devant au trésorier de Ypsilanti qui les avait transformé en villages de serfs en 1801 (*Ibidem*: 17), ou quand ils poursuivent en justice, après le Grande Guerre, la collectivité du village Ojdula de Transylvanie, qui a régné injustement leurs terres depuis 150 ans (*Ibidem*: 21).

En ce qui concerne les six localités choisies pour la recherche anthropologique, il s'agit de communautés de Vrancea (Bârsești, Negriștești, Tulnici, Nereju), soumises aux recherches antérieures (pour la microévolution), mais aussi de leurs voisines (Soveja et Câmpuri). On suit une présentation de chaque communauté au point de vue géographique, historique, démographique.

Le deuxième chapitre, d'anthropologie socioculturelle, se réfère à la région de Vrancea comme un isolat ou une « communauté de petites communautés ». Les auteurs y font une présentation théorique du concept d'isolat zonal, chacun des aspects exemplifiant des particularités de la province étudiée. Parmi les composants qui définissent par leur interaction un isolat, celles économique et juridique ont survécu dans le cas de Vrancea jusqu'aujourd'hui, ce qui est unique dans le pays et peut-être en Europe (*Ibidem*: 33) ; de telles composants commencera aussi la modification du système d'isolation, grâce à l'influence de l'urbanisation et de la modernisation de l'ancienne mode de vie agro-pastorale. On remarque, concernant la composante culturelle de l'isolat de Vrancea, la présence des certaines professions et des habitudes spécifiques qui ont conduit à l'émergence d'éléments traditionnels tels que la chemise à manches tordus en costume populaire (qui date apparemment de Dacie romaine) ou la ballade *Miorita*, recueillie par Alecu Russo à Soveja en 1846, avec les plus nombreuses variations de Vrancea (*Ibidem*: 40). Le texte y est accompagné de photos et un modèle graphique des composants de l'isolat.

Le troisième chapitre se penche sur la démographie en interaction avec l'environnement socioculturel et historique. Il est un chapitre de « transit » à la seconde partie du travail, celle d'anthropologie physique. Cette fois, les auteurs ont fait poursuivre les influences de la modernisation après la Seconde Guerre mondiale sur les structures démographiques des six villages de Vrancea, l'échantillonnage et l'interprétation des données en revenant à G. Geană. L'urbanisation de la zone de Vrancea était difficile, principalement en raison de la géographie et de la géologie, les ressources minérales étant réduites (sauf le sel). Mais la ressource qui a permis l'industrialisation de la région fut la forêt, des entreprises forestières y apparaissant depuis 1905 et conduisant à un afflux d'immigrants et de la main-d'œuvre et parfois de l'étranger. C'est ainsi que l'endogamie diminuait, en faveur de l'indice d'exogamie ; pourtant, les différences anthropologiques et culturelles restent insignifiantes. Commencée déjà durant le communisme, l'ouverture des structures démographiques générales, culturelles, sociales et des frontières de Vrancea allait accélérer grâce à la Révolution de 1989. Il s'agit non seulement de la tendance de l'urbanisation, mais aussi de la mondialisation pour le village roumain, avec la migration des jeunes à la ville et puis à l'étranger, ce qui va accentuer le phénomène du vieillissement démographique. Geană porte les considérations démographiques au niveau de la famille, les mots choisis magnifiquement décrivant les trois générations traditionnelles, chacun avec son but bien établi. La migration urbaine des jeunes affecte ce modèle familial traditionnel, remplacé par des familles nucléaires, avec la marginalisation des vieux. Quand même, le lien entre les générations ne disparaît pas complètement : des jeunes y reviennent encore en vacances ou laissent leurs enfants avec les grands-parents. Pour mettre en évidence les changements démographiques (notamment le vieillissement de la population), Geană utilise le modèle du « pyramide démographique idéale » d'inspiration propre, sous forme de triangle isocèle (Geană 1992: 315–321, cf. la Bibliographie).

Les chapitres 4–7 comprennent des aspects d'anthropologie physique (biologique) concernant la caractérisation anthropologique selon le village et le sexe : la structure anthropologique exprimée par les dimensions et conformations céphaliques, faciales et somatiques, pigmentation des cheveux et de l'iris, les caractéristiques hématologiques et des dermatoglyphes. L'étude inclut 1050 sujets (606 hommes de 20–60 ans et 444 femmes de 18–55 ans), autochtones de moins trois générations. En général, les habitants du « Pays de Vrancea » se caractérisent par la brachycéphalie et la hyperbrachycéphalie, la hypsicéphalie moyenne, la leptoprosopie et la méso-leptorhinie au niveau céphalique et facial. D'autres traits sont ici la stature et la hauteur au-dessus de la moyenne, le tronc presque macrocorme et de forme intermédiaire des hommes et rectangulaire des femmes. La pigmentation

des cheveux est foncée et de l'iris intermédiaire foncé et foncé. En ce qui concerne le système OAB, on remarque des aspects particuliers : les habitants des deux communes, Bârsești et Negriștești, ont prédominant le groupe 0 et ceux de Soveja ont des fréquences égales pour 0 et A. Les dermatoglyphes sont en proportions normales, mais les arcs et les boucles plus fréquents au sud de la zone et les verticilles au nord. La microévolution se fait visible par l'augmentation de la stature et des quelques largeurs de la tête et de la face. En Soveja, où les habitants sont venus depuis 1620 et 1718 de Munténie (Rucăr et Dragoslavele – département Argeș) on constate un phénomène de macro-somatisation.

Pour finir, le volume de Dr. Corneliu Vulpe et le Professeur Gheorghiță Geană, s'ajoute aux Atlas anthropologiques des provinces roumaines et de la Roumanie (parus entre 1999-2012) et contribue à l'enrichissement de la littérature roumaine du domaine.

Cornelia Belcin Pleșca, Laura Toader, Cătălin Alexa, *Familia țărănească în România. Un secol de fotografie / The Peasants' Family in Romania. A Century of Photography*, Printed by Monitorul Oficial R.A., Bucharest, 2017, 416 pp.

Review by Marin Constantin

As the result of a project that Cornelia Belcin Pleșca, Laura Toader, and Cătălin Alexa have achieved in the framework, or with the support – of the Archive of “Constantin Brăiloiu” Institute of Ethnography (Romanian Academy, Bucharest), the volume actually makes a detailed review of ethnographic photography in Romania, especially in the first half of the twentieth century and during the period of 1950-1980s. According to the “Foreword” signed by Professor Ion Ghinoiu (pp. 6-7), such a veritable “handbook of visual ethnology” is conceived to represent historical provinces (Moldavia, Bukovina, Bessarabia, Muntenia, Oltenia, Dobruja, Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, and Maramureș), as well as ethnic groups (Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Turks, Tatars, Russians, Jewish people, etc.) and religious denominations.



Likewise, in her “Introduction” (pp. 8-13), Cornelia Belcin Pleșca – while pointing to the value of “scientific document” that photography has in ethnological research – presents the book as being “offered out of a deep respect for the traditional family”. Mrs. Pleșca reminds us that “some of the details visible in these photos are still present today, although mostly in museums and, sometimes, in the shadow of undeserved oblivion”. The main “character” of the tome, that is, “the generic family, rural or urban”, is shown to be “standing for the Romanian national unity, generating and preserving the national identity”. Family is thus seen as repository of the “entire patrimony of the [folk] soul” made by beliefs, songs, and legends, “transmitted and preserved from generation to generation”. The author also argues on the “relevance” of images for the life in the country side”, which would account as such for the “immortality of peasantry”. Besides, Cornelia Belcin Pleșca intends the volume as a “restitution” of the “achievements” of “many generations of researchers and photographers”, Romanian and foreign, out of which are mentioned (among others) Leopold Adler (1848-1924), Emil Fischer (1873-1965), Adolphe A. Chevallier (1881-1962), Alexandru Bădăuță (1901-1983), Kurt Hielscher (1881-1948), Tache Papahagi (1892-1977),

and so on. The overall contribution of the book is claimed to rely on “presenting the peasants’ family as a whole with all the material and spiritual aspects of the traditional life”.

Chapter I – “Peasants’ families” – consists of a series of “family portraits” taken from the main historical regions of Romania, in which farmers, shepherds, and craftsmen are shown “wearing work or festive (ceremonial) clothes”, with “distinctive signs for age and gender” (pp. 15-53). Out of the 39 photos, we remark “Three generations in Vrancea (parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren)” (p. 16), “Catholic family in the north of Moldavia” (p. 18), “Lipovan fisherman’s family in the Danube Delta” (p. 34), “A ploughmen’s big family in Alba County”, and “A big family of rich shepherds in Mărginimea Sibiului” (p. 51).

The next chapter deals with “The family life. The precincts of the village”, with 70 photos emphasizing traditional buildings “made of materials specific to each region: wood, stone, clay, reeds” (pp. 55-119). Thus, the “two-storey house with carved pillars” from Curtișoara (Gorj County) is locally characterized by its cellar preserving “wine, brandy, vegetables, fruit, dairy products, and meat [...] for winter time” (p. 59). “The free peasants’ houses in Vrancea” are described to be “comfortably inhabited by parents together with their married children”, while [neighboring] “people would gather here for sittings [*șezători*] with storytelling, singing or playing musical instruments” (p. 61).

Further images are evidences for “A wattle and daub house in the flatlands” (Bessarabia) (p. 64), a “Kitchen in Banat, with an open hearth on a brick and clay house” (p. 70), a “Guest room with a loom” in Bistrița-Năsăud County (p. 72), a “Monumental wooden gate” in Giulești (Maramureș County, p. 76), a “Dugout” house in Orlea (Olt County, p. 83), “Small and big wooden gates” of a “household protected by snakes and solar symbols” in Preznea (Mehedinți County, p. 94), an “archaic mountain village, with houses built [...] of horizontal beams or layers of stones” in Sălașul de Jos (Hunedoara County, p. 98), oxcarts on village lanes from Turtucaia (Dobruja) and Suceava (pp. 110-111).

The third chapter – “Life family. Shelters and roads” (pp. 120-151) – is an approach of traditional economy, including (in 33 images) seasonal works of farming, shepherding, trading, and food supplying. Peasant households are represented with their vineyards (Dobrița - Gorj; Drăgășani - Vâlcea; Orlea - Romanăți) (pp. 122-3), guarding of gardens (Lunca Dunării, p. 124), hay storing (Râpciuni - Neamț, p. 125), cattle sheltering (Izverna - Mehedinți, p. 127), mobile sheepfolds (Țara Bârsei, p. 128), summer sheepfolds (Hunedoara County, p. 129). Similarly are shown women carrying farming products on their shoulders (Breznița - Mehedinți, p. 132), horse-drawn carriages in Cerișoara (Hunedoara County, p. 135), a family crossing a Transylvanian river in the oxcart (p. 140), rafts for transporting people and timber on the Valea Bistriței (p. 142), folk fairs in Apuseni Mountains (pp. 144-5) and in Dolj County (pp. 148-9), etc.

Another chapter – “Starting a family” (63 photos, pp. 152-201) – is focused on the crucial phases and rituals in the making one’s family and securing its continuity among rural communities: the betrothal, the wedding, the birth of the first child, and godparenthood. Young people’s reunions are thus outlined during Saturday liturgy in Hunedoara County (p. 154), feast days (Bistrița-Năsăud County, p. 155), farming work sessions (*claca*) for village notabilities in Draguș - Brașov County (p. 156), the pastoral feast of “maidens’ fair” in Apuseni Mountains (p. 157), the *hora* round dance in Nereju - Vrancea County (p. 159), spinning wool sittings in Hațeg area (p. 161). The engagement of a young couple, within local kinship networks and traditions, is accounted for the areas of Runcu - Gorj (p. 164), Șanț - Bistrița Năsăud (p. 165), Țara Oașului (p. 166), while the weddings are illustrated for the counties of Mureș (Solovăstru) and Brașov (Paloș) (p. 167), Fundu Moldovei (p. 170), Alba (Șugag) (p. 171), Caraș Severin (Medhadica) (p. 175), Hunedoara (Petrila) and Vrancea (Nereju) (pp. 178-9), Gorj (Runcu) (p. 183). Images with the newborn and his mother at the “Fates’ table” are taken from Podeni - Mehedinți (pp. 189-90), while the parents, the midwife, and the godparents are shown during baptism in Șugag - Alba, in Budești - Maramureș, as well as among Lipovans in the Danube Delta (p. 195), etc.

The distinct chapter of “Children” (84 photos, pp. 202-264) consists of a fascinating review of the first seven childhood years (*cei șapte ani de-acasă*) across Romania’s ethnographic regions. The

baby's sleeping room and cradles are observed in Țara Făgărașului, Brașov County, Satu Mare, Alba, and Neculele – Vrancea (pp. 204-5, 208), whereas the baby's first steps in the same countryside ambiance take place in settings like Apușeni Mountains and Bicaz – Neamț (pp. 210-11), Răchitiș – Bacău (p. 213), Clopotiva – Hunedoara (p. 214), Gornovița – Mehedinți (p. 215), Optași – Olt (p. 216), Galeș – Sibiu (p. 218). The kids are particularly represented in the context of Christian liturgy and road wooden crosses (Bârgăuani – Neamț, p. 219), Tomșani – Vâlcea and Colibași – Dâmbovița (p. 220), while village schooling frameworks appear for the counties of Vâlcea and Bihor (pp. 221-2), Prahova (Starchioșd) (p. 223), Alba (Cut, pp. 224-5), and Maramureș (Sat-Șugatag, p. 226). Playing and games plentifully accompany the early childhood, with as many examples such as *On the saddle* and the *Cupboard* (Rast – Dolj, pp. 233-4), *The wide one* (Uliuc – Timiș, p. 235), *The peasants in the field* (Blăjel – Sibiu), *The little pebble* (Izverna – Mehedinți), and *The whirlpool* (Săpânța – Maramureș). Playing and working hypostases of childhood are also taken into account, including ploughing (Transylvania, p. 240), waiting for the cattle (South of Romania, p. 241), carrying water (Nereju – Vrancea, p. 243), weaving in Mărginimea Sibiului (p. 245), shepherding in Apușeni Mountains and in Novaci – Gorj (pp. 247, 249), mowing and raking (Râu de Mori – Hunedoara, p. 251), carrying the ore in Alba County (p. 253). Children during holidays are noticed for the Easter and Christmas cycles (Ilfov County, Bistrețu – Dolj, Băbeni – Vâlcea (pp. 254-5; Northern Moldavia, p. 258, Bărbătești – Vâlcea, p. 259, and Lunca Jariștei – Buzău, p. 263), as well as in the context of local customs like the *Caloian* (Joița – Giurgiu, p. 256) and the *Winter Căluș* (Gropeni – Brăila, p. 260).

"The daily meal" (the following chapter, pp. 264-281) examines in 20 photos the theme of peasant conduct vis-à-vis the food and table in accordance with the seasons and religious prescriptions, as well as with local basic resources. This time, pictures are taken (among others) from a summer kitchen in Suceava County (p. 266), the table set up in the yard (Nereju – Vrancea, p. 267), mother and daughter next to the hearth (Dobruja, p. 269), polenta cooking in Gura Văii – Dolj (p. 271), food cooked at home and eaten in the field (Cornești – Maramureș, p. 272; Rociu – Argeș, p. 275), cooking in the field (Râșnov – Brașov, p. 273), carrying the food to the field, on people's back (Vâlcea, p. 276), (Lipovan) fishermen's table in the Danube Delta and shepherds' table in the Ceahlău Mountains (Neamț County, pp. 280-1).

An extended chapter – "The peasants' family at work" (pp. 282-331, 64 photos) – is dedicated to the various working activities of peasants, as seen from the perspective of gender division of tasks. A series of seasonal men's works are exemplified as follows: ploughing in Fundulea – Călărași (p. 286), mowing somewhere in Transylvania (p. 287), gardening on the bank of Danube (p. 288), harvesting the grapes (Ighiel – Alba) and fruits (Gârbove – Dolj) (p. 290), slaughtering the pig before Christmas in Cut (Alba County, p. 291), shepherding in Parâng Mountains (p. 292), in Apușeni Mountains (p. 295), in Dobruja (p. 294), bee keeping in Transylvania (p. 296) and hunting in Moldavia (p. 297), fishing in Transylvania and in Brăila (pp. 298-9), woodcarving in Maramureș (p. 300), pottery in Argeș (p. 303), blacksmith's works in Vrancea and Transylvania, pp. 306-7), etc. In their turn, women are presented in icon-painting (Southern Transylvania, p. 304), sheepskin embroidering (Drăguș, Brașov County, p. 305), harvesting the wheat with a sickle in Bistrița-Năsăud (p. 310), carrying the water and the wood in Gorj (pp. 312-3), cooking in the oven in Bistrița-Năsăud (pp. 316-317), raising children in the context of field works, in Neamț and Gorj (Pestișani) (p. 319), milking a cow in Hunedoara (p. 320) and feeding the pigs in Drăguș – Brașov (p. 321), processing wool in Transylvania (pp. 322-3), making the bricks for building a house in Drăguș – Brașov (p. 325), spinning wool in Alba (p. 327), washing laundry in Șanț - Bistrița-Năsăud (p. 329), traditional healing in Bârca – Olt and in Drăguș – Brașov (p. 331), etc.

"Family and community" (23 photos, pp. 332-353) is a chapter about the village context of a family way of life, within local kin networks, especially in what refers to helping each other and spending feast days. Teamwork is shown during most of peasants' seasonal works such as ploughing in Vâlcea (p. 334), mowing in Rarău Mountain (p. 335), harvesting the wheat in Drăguș – Brașov

(pp. 336) and the grapes somewhere in Moldova (p. 337), combing the hemp and spinning wool in Drăguș – Brașov (p. 338), arranging the beds of the mountain rivers in Nereju – Vrancea (p. 341), etc. Likewise, villagers gather at the call for the liturgy (Botiza – Maramureș, p. 342), religious ceremony for bringing the rain in Bistrița-Năsăud (p. 343), the oath of the *Călușari* ceremonial dancers as well as the women's oath of the *Sânziene* in Zimnicele – Teleorman (p. 346), the *hora* round dance in Runcu – Gorj (p. 349), caroling groups in Transylvania, Moldova, and in Buzău (pp. 350-3).

Chapter IX evokes the "Funeral. Commemoration of the ancestors" (43 photos, pp. 354-389). In Runcu – Gorj, two lyrical texts – "The song of the Dawn" and "The song of the Fir Tree" (pp. 356-7) – open up the funeral cycle, while the wake and the dinner of the dead are reproduced from Nereju – Vrancea (pp. 358-9). Funeral processions in Leșu – Bistrița-Năsăud (p. 365) and in Drăguș – Brașov (p. 367), funeral service before burial in Moieșeni (p. 362) and in Peșteana – Gorj (p. 368), and lowering the coffin into the ground in Drăguș (p. 369) are further sequences of the same rite of passage. A series of related rituals also contribute to the deep ceremonial complex of "the passing of one member of the family from this world into the after world" (p. 354), such as giving animals as alms over the grave in Ariceni – Brăila (p. 371) and in Nereju (p. 372), burial feasts in Luigi-Călugăra – Bacău (p. 374) and in Vrancea (p. 375), round dance (*hora*) given as alms in Podeni – Mehedinți (p. 376) and in Cornereva – Caraș Severin (p. 377), offerings for ancestors in Câmpofeni – Gorj (p. 378), village graveyards (Dăbuleni – Gorj, p. 382; Pipirig – Neamț, p. 383), funerary poles belonging to the same family (Bucium – Sălaj, p. 384), burning incense at the graves (Pitaru – Dâmbovița, p. 388), etc.

As a last chapter (28 photos, pp. 390-413), the "Great communal meals" are argued to "gather the extended family, the whole community" and to "express the social and cultural cohesion of the traditional village" (p. 390). Such community reunions are held during local rites of passage (the wedding feast in Runcu – Gorj [p. 401], the "sworn cousins" meal in the yard of the cemetery [Siriu, Buzău, p. 397], etc.), as well as memorial ceremonies for the ancestors (celebrating the ancestors and local heroes on Ascension Day in Sălaj [p. 398] and in Bucium – Alba [p. 399], the dance of masked people representing the ancestors in Nereju – Vrancea [p. 402], the stone table dedicated to the ancestors in Hangu – Neamț [p. 404], etc.) Further contexts are seasonal feasts (The Maidens Fair in Apuseni Mountains [p. 393], the communal meal during the pastoral feast of *Sâmbra oilor* in Sârbi – Maramureș [pp. 406-7]), along with celebrating the church day as dedicated to the patron saints in Cruci – Suceava (p. 411), in Ialomicioara – Dâmbovița (p. 413), etc.

The book practically renders a comprehensive panorama of traditional lifestyle across Romania of the twentieth century. Beyond the picturesque content of most of images and their exhibitive, authentic liveliness, we would like to remark the great documentary achievement of such a "visual-ethnological" enterprise. With no intention to deepen here and now the methodological distinction between the "aesthetic composition" and the "anthropological relevance" (Chris Wright, 1998), it is worth noticing that most of the photos from Pleșca et al.'s present anthology are probably the last ones from what a researcher of today could still find out in the field. Based on this, we might agree on the double character – ethnographic and historical as well – of a "century of photography" of an invaluable importance for the study of peasantry in the modern state of Romania, as it still was before the "modernization" process of the country.

Silvia Ciubotaru, *Obiceiurile agrare din Moldova raportate la spațiul național* [Les coutumes agraires de Moldavie par rapport à l'espace national roumain], Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași, 2017, 681 pp.

Compte rendu par Marin Constantin

Le volume met en valeur les collections de l'Archive de Folklore de la Moldavie et de la Bucovine (auprès de l'Institut de Philologie Roumaine « Alexandru Philippide », Académie Roumaine, Iași),

une remarquable ressource développée au fil de quatre décennies à partir d'un projet commencé et coordonné par le Professeur Ion H. Ciubotaru. L'autrice de cet imposant tome, Mme Silvia Ionescu-Ciubotaru est une spécialiste bien connue de l'ethnologie moldave – et roumaine, en général –, alors que son ouvrage est présenté comme le résultat d'une collaboration qui réunit toute une série de chercheurs pleinement dévoués à leur domaine: Lucia Berdan, Constanța Buzatu, Lucia Cireș, Viorel Bârleanu, Florin Bucescu, Mircea Fotea, Ștefan Popa et Nicolae Andrei.

La structure du livre comprend une « Introduction » sur les implications culturelles de l'invention de l'agriculture dans l'histoire de l'humanité, sur les données archéologiques et documentaires concernant l'outillage et les techniques agricoles durant l'histoire ancienne et médiévale des Roumains, ainsi que sur le folklore suscité aux villageois moldaves, transylvains et valaques par le travail agricole (pp. 7-54).

Le chapitre « Horizons ethnologiques » (pp. 55-134) relève d'abord d'un inventaire terminologique et symbolique de l'instrumentaire agricole roumain (*plugul, sapa, grapa, secera, coasa, îmblăcițul, cremenea / dicania, tăvălugul, vânturătoarea, ciurul*), étalé à l'aide des riches références ethnographiques et comparatives, en des contextes du calendrier productif mais aussi rituel. Une seconde section traite sur la technique traditionnelle du « *Treierat cu cai* », tandis que le troisième part se réfère aux moulins à vent et à l'eau (de nouveau, grâce à l'apport descriptif des pratiques magiques, des contes, de la parémiologie...) *Pâinea și colacii* – les produits agricoles centraux – sont également discutés dans leur significations coutumières (par exemple, le contexte marital). Quant au dernier sous-chapitre, il se concentre sur l'univers symbolique associé aux *Trăgători cu coarne aurite* (« Tireurs [bêtes de somme] à cornes dorées ») dans tout le cadre cérémoniel (comme le cycle des fêtes hivernales) qui en découle.

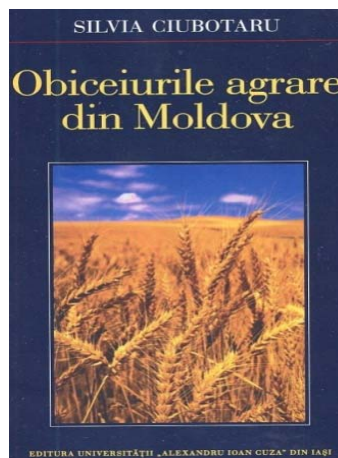
Des « Incursions mythologiques » (pp. 135-194) font examiner des mythes pluviaux roumains en contexte universel (pratiquement, un excursus sur la démonologie sous-jacente à la mythologie agricole roumaine), de même que les récits populaires d'autour le complexe cérémoniel du *Plugușor* (« La petite charrue ») en tant que narration mythique du cycle agricole local.

La « Rétrospective bibliographique » rend compte de la littérature roumaine sur l'agriculture de la Moldavie, à partir des chroniques ou mémoires de divers voyageurs médiévaux (Matteo Muriano, Marco Bandini...), continuant avec les ouvrages de Dimitrie Cantemir (1714) et Ion Ionescu de la Brad (1866), les textes folkloriques (oraisons) collectés par Vasile Alecsandri (1866), G. Dem. Teodorescu (1874), etc. L'apport documentaire du fameux écrivain Ion Creangă ainsi que celles des réputés ethnographes Simeon Florea Marian et Elena Niculiță-Voronca (à la deuxième moitié du dix-neuvième siècle et au début du vingtième siècle) sont bien mises en évidence. L'ethnologue Tudor Pamfile, le folkloriste Petru Caraman et le sociologue Henri H. Stahl apparaissent aussi parmi les contributeurs « ethno-agricoles » mentionnés dans cette bibliographie (pp. 195-234).

Une ample section du volume est dédiée à la « Typologie des coutumes agraires » (pp. 235-392). Les traditions ainsi répertoriées visent le labourage de la terre (*inter allia*, les rites de fertilité et les processions pour amener la pluie), le calendrier agro-pastoral (avec la succession saisonnière des rituels liés aux travaux agricoles et d'élevage) et, enfin, la classification régionale – dans sa variété terminologique et diversité toponymique – des outils et dispositifs techniques agraires.

Le corpus de 221 textes qui fait compléter le tome (pp. 393-574) reproduits la poésie populaire des départements moldaves, en tant qu'incantations, les chants « pluviaux » des *Paparude* et des *Caloieni*, des *descânțete*, des chansons de Noël, des oraisons du cycle agricole (le *Plugușor*) et les chansons de *Semănat* et de *Sorcova* (intégrées dans le même contexte festif du passage de l'année).

Les coutumes agraires de Moldavie est un ouvrage soutenu par une riche bibliographie (comptant 241 références de la littérature roumaine et internationale du thème, parmi lesquels Adrian



Fochi, Ovidiu Bârlea, Mircea Eliade, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Marcel Mauss, Arnold van Gennep, Eric Wolf, etc.) (pp. 575-588). Une preuve complémentaire de l'acribie documentaire de l'autrice est représentée par les plus de 1000 de communes et villages moldaves citées (dans un *Indice de localités*, pp. 589-612) comme lieux de provenance de l'information ethnographique et folklorique du livre, une information thésaurisée par l'Archive de Folklore de la Moldavie et de la Bucovine. De même, les 184 interlocuteurs du terrain sont rigoureusement précisés quant à leurs noms, âges et domiciles (pp. 613-617). L'ouvrage comprend aussi un nombre de 32 photographes ethnographiques et peintures autour des traditions agraires en Roumanie (pp. 659-674).

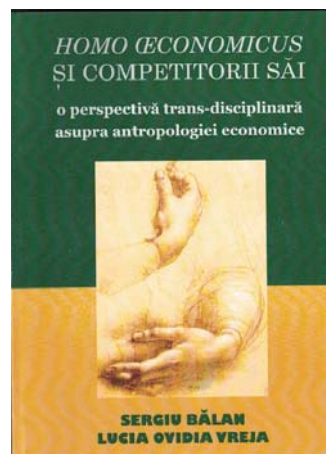
En dépit d'un silence (peut-être « évocateur » par lui-même) sur les changements que les processus politiques récents imposèrent à la condition contemporains des agriculteurs roumains, la monographie de Mme Silvia Ciubotaru constitue une importante synthèse d'un thème majeure dans l'histoire et l'ethnographie des Roumains. Comme l'autrice le rappelle (p. 637) (en citant une terminologie appartenant à l'archéologue roumain Vasile Pârvan), ce qui définit *le romanisme agricole* de la Dacie et de la Mésie Inférieure « [...] a résisté tout au long de la période médiévale, jusqu'à nos jours, tandis que le *romanisme pastoral* de la Dalmatie et de la Mésie Supérieure s'est perdu à l'arrivée des Slaves ». En fournissant des évidences ethno-folklorique de telle « résistance », *Les coutumes agraires de Moldavie* reflète la profondeur spirituelle du « dispositif » symbolique qui accompagne et nourrit tous les moyens techniques des paysans de cette province roumaine. Grâce au corpus de textes, mais aussi à l'abondance des archaïsmes et notions vernaculaires qui font illustrer l'approche descriptif du livre, le lecteur a la possibilité de découvrir à son tour des nouvelles voies d'exploration de ce qui les laboureurs moldaves de la terre ont su conserver et faire transmettre au fil des générations.

Sergiu Bălan, Lucia Ovidia Vreja, *Homo Oeconomicus și competitorii săi. O perspectivă trans-disciplinară asupra antropologiei economice* [*Homo Oeconomicus and His Competitors. A Trans-disciplinary Perspective on Economic Anthropology*], Editura ASE: București (2017).

Review by Cosmin Radu

The book is clear from the title that it makes a case for some essence of man, which however seems to be not "economic" in the sense conveyed by formalist economic anthropologists or neoclassical economists. The question of "essence", understood as basics of human behavior, is explored by authors across many scholarly discourses and disciplines, although its key seems to be found in anthropological discourses in general and in theoretical and empirical findings of economic anthropology in particular. The volume is structured into six chapters, of which Chapter 1 is a general introduction into what anthropology is, what ethnography is, and what are the main sub-disciplines of anthropology – archaeology, plus physical, linguistic and cultural anthropology.

Chapters 2 and 3 introduce and develop the object of economic anthropology and the debate between formalism and substantivism which was at its peak in the 1960's between anthropologists of the economy inspired by their commitment to neoclassical economic models and to the postulate of instrumental rationality as a universal and logical characteristic of man (upon which a further preoccupation with culture and cultural variations was added), and the anthropologists inspired by Karl Polanyi's treatment of the economy as an instituted process, with its focus on the embeddedness



of economic activity within the activity of highly interdependent individuals who form societies (and on the further institutionalization that takes place). Several other approaches in economic anthropology are mentioned – structuralism and its Marxist variant emerged in the 1970's, and feminism, more notably.

Chapter 4 seems to take the Polanyian argument against neoclassical economics and to “complicate” it by a critique of instrumental rationality with ideas from classical political economy (notably Adam Smith). Limits of rationality are also explored from the viewpoint of different other hypotheses on the behavioral ‘essence’ of man – religious, social, cognitive, and even economic. Chapter 5 conveys the authors’ preferred response to their objection against instrumental rationality – an exploration of man and its behaviours as products of evolution. With an introductory part on the Darwinian theory of evolution of species, the authors look further into sociobiology, evolutionary psychology, behavioral ecology and the theory of co-evolution to make their case that man is the product of evolution. The long Chapter 6 is a return to the problem of the economic behavior – mainly of hunter gatherers, horticulturalists, pastoral peoples, and agriculturalists - this time with the insights developed in the preceding chapter on perspectives on evolution added.

As mentioned, the authors reject the idea that the humans are in their essence rational beings.

As the authors put it, “[...] studies in biological anthropology prove [that] the human as natural being does not seem to be reduced to the aspect of rationality. Like all the other species of living beings, *homo sapiens* is the product of biological evolution, a fact which invites us to lay down a another hypothesis - that not only its physical traits represent the product of evolution, but also its behavioral aspect. Studying how these behavioral characteristics emerged it is possible to discover that not the rationality in the sense that we have discussed here is the essential and the defining attribute of humans, but deeper behavioral structures inherited from biological ancestors. [These structures] have emerged before rational thinking [...] [T]he goal of our enterprise [is] to understand the fundamentals of human behaviours” (p. 252-253).

The option for rejecting the *homo oeconomicus* by trying to find different other essences of man is a little surprising, especially given the current understandings of the ‘economic’ and its emergence in scholarly discourses. According to theoreticians of the market and the economy (Caliskan, Callon 2009, 2010), including recent works in economic anthropology (Guyer 2016), the economic is constructed through the recurring influence of thinking developed in economics, and by employing concepts, theories, and models from economics. From this perspective, the “economic” cannot be viewed as a behavioral essence of humans, but the result of a process of constitution. Moreover, the “economic” is not a conclusive result, but an open-ended attribute, continuously in its making. Caliskan and Callon (2010) write about this under their term “economization” – “the processes through which behaviours, organizations, institutions and, more generally, objects are constituted as being “economic” (p. 2). There are some decades now since anthropologists of the economy showed great interest in studying “economic” phenomena from processual perspectives and from basic philosophical presuppositions, ontological notions and epistemologies offered by the Actor Network Theory. What counts in recent analyses of the economy are not so much the individual elements and their ultimate essences, but their networked character and their ability to compose assemblages. Anthropologists and other social scientists were thus able to look at striking phenomena such as the crises of global capitalism and financial markets (Zaloom 2010; Miyazaki 2012). As Guyer shows, recent contributions to economic anthropology are concerned with specific architectures of the economy, with the various places and positions within these architectures, and with the operations and performances of such architectures (Guyer 2016).

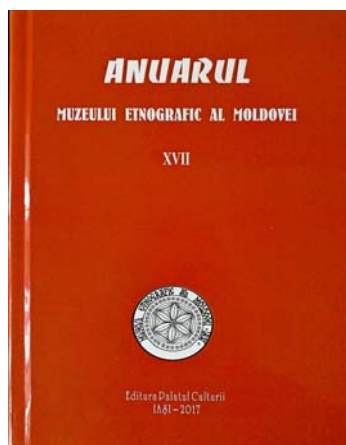
Although the book is useful to everyone who wants to introduce themselves to some “classical” economic anthropology debates or evolutionary theory, and to everyone who wants to understand some important arguments against instrumental rationality and economic orthodoxy more generally about human nature, the overall argument of the book is at times not clear, while the “trans-disciplinary” mode of argumentation of some chapters does not necessarily benefit the meaning of the contribution.

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***Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei* [Annuaire du Musée Ethnographique de Moldavie], Iași, Maison d'Édition du Palais de Culture, Vol. XVII, 2017, 522 pp.**

Compte-rendu par Dragoș Grigorescu*



Il convient de mentionner la XVII-ème édition de l'*Annuaire du Musée Ethnographique de Moldavie*, qui a été publié à Iași en 2017 à travers les préoccupations de la rédaction du Complexe Muséal National « Le Musée d'Ethnographie de Moldavie ». Initié et coordonné depuis 1966 par le défunt Vasile Munteanu, ce nombre aussi parvient à impressionner à travers le contenu varié et de la haute tenue académique. Ayant un nombre tout aussi impressionnant de plus de 500 pages, le volume se distingue également par la forme graphique, fruit de la même équipe éditoriale.

Ce qui est particulièrement important est que ce numéro contient une section entière consacrée à la célébration en 2017 de 100 ans à partir de la naissance du grand ethnologue Ovidiu Bârlea. L'initiative est d'autant plus méritoire qu'elle représente la présentation en volume d'une longue correspondance entre Ovidiu Bârlea et Ion Mușlea. Cosmina Timoce-Mocanu, de l'Institut de l'*Archive du folklore de l'Académie roumaine* [I.A.F.A.R.] de Cluj-Napoca, s'est occupée de cette correspondance. Le vaste travail de 110 pages a été réalisé dans un projet de I.A.F.A.R. Cluj et approuvé par l'Académie Roumaine. L'inclusion de ce texte en volume met en lumière les qualités particulières de l'ethnologue, folkloriste et sociologue d'Ovidiu Bârlea, un hommage digne d'un grand homme cultivé et passionné par définir l'identité nationale. Telles initiatives sont vraiment nécessaires aujourd'hui, étant données les 100 ans depuis la constitution de la Grande Roumanie, en 1918.

Un autre article d'une grande importance dans ce numéro est l'étude critique de Petru Caraman. C'est l'ample compte-rendu critique que P. Caraman écrit sur le texte monumental en plusieurs volumes de Lutz Röhrich intitulé *Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*.

Le texte de P. Caraman ainsi que les explications y afférentes sont publiés par les soins du professeur Ion H. Ciubotaru. Le texte de l'étude du réputée de P. Caraman respecte le souhait de l'auteur et apparaît en français. La section Restitutions comprend également un texte de Eugen D. Neculau, intitulé *La vie religieuse sur Jijia de Sus*, par l'enthousiasme de l'ethnologue Marcel Lutic, ayant une bonne connaissance du travail de Neculau. Le texte de E. Neculau, non moins précieux, est aussi un véritable repère de la recherche de terrain considérant les formes de manifestations religieuses.

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La XVIIème numéro de *l'Annuaire*, publiée aux éditions Palais de la Culture Iași, est structurée dans les sections suivantes : « Restitutions », « Etudes et matériaux », « Muséologie », « Correspondance et documents », « Anniversaires », « Centenaire Ovidiu Bîrlea », « Commémorations » et « Révisions ». Le lecteur intéressé de passer par les sections eux-mêmes ne fera que se faire une bonne idée de la taille et de l'importance de ce volume. Il convient de mentionner les contributions les plus importantes de ces sections. Nous espérons que les spécialistes et le grand public seront plus intéressés d'approfondir ce volume remarquable.

Une étude de la connue Sanda Golopentia sur *Les recherches de 1938-1939 de Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția* apparaît dans la section « Etudes ». Professeuse émérite à l'Université Brown, fondée en 1764, Sanda Golopentia, présente les recherches de sa mère sur des sujets d'intérêt tels que les rituels magiques, les incantations ou l'intégrité du ménage. L'article est une excellente occasion de rappeler l'opéra méconnu de Ștefania Cristescu, ethnologue et sociologue éminent. Les jeunes lecteurs ont ainsi l'opportunité de consulter directement la vie et le travail de ces pionniers dans le domaine de l'ethnologie roumaine.

Une autre étude, réalisée par Adina Hulubaș présente une recherche de la *Magie du début et l'ombre comme sacrifice de la création dans les rites de la construction des maisons en Moldavie*, des croyances, superstitions au sujet de la construction. La section « Etudes » publie aussi une étude comme le résultat d'une recherche sur le terrain signée par Marin Constantin, chercheur à l'Institut « Francisc Rainer » de l'Académie Roumaine. *L'auto identification matérielle de l'appartenance ethnique chez les Turcs et les Tatars de Bairamedede, Baspunar et Cobadin (Comté de Constanța)* est le fruit du voyage de l'auteur à Dobroudja, en 2007, pour capturer et décrire les deux façons d'identifier la communauté, à la fois religieuse et ethnique. L'étude est accompagnée de photographies suggestives pour l'esprit du lieu et les gens de ces communautés.

Ana Pascu (Le Musée du Paysan Roumain) présente dans l'article *Le Jeu-dans le-contexte. Une nouvelle perspective dans l'analyse du jeu avec les règles* une perspective de l'analyse ethnologique sur l'environnement urbain. Le texte est très bienvenu dans l'économie du volume car il équilibre les zones étudiées entre urbain et rural, mais surtout parce qu'il occupe un espace culturel très peu présent à nous, étudiant la culture urbaine contemporaine.

La section « Muséologie » consiste en deux études. Le premier, signé par Maria Ciocanu (Le Musée National d'Ethnographie et d'Histoire Naturelle de Chisinau), s'intitule *Points de suture et broderie sur les textiles d'intérieur. Collections muséales* et présente d'une manière bien documentée les différentes typologies et techniques de couture. Il faut noter que l'étude est illustrée par de nombreuses photographies, malheureusement en noir et blanc, ce qui efface inévitablement les éléments chromatiques pertinents. La deuxième étude – *Sceaux de la collection Movileanu-Bobulescu du patrimoine du Musée National du Paysan Roumain* – est signée par Letiția-Mirela Cristea et attire l'attention à divers modèles des sceaux dans le patrimoine du musée. Ce texte aussi est accompagné par des images édifiantes.

Nous devons mentionner aussi la section « Correspondance. Documents » de *l'Annuaire* car elle présente deux textes remarquables. Le premier est une présentation inédite de la correspondance du célèbre artiste photographe Adolph Chevallier avec Gavril Moșoiu, alors un brigadier forestier sur la couronne de Bicaz. Le texte présente deux de ces lettres et est signé par Mihaela-Cristina Verzea et Florentina Buzenschi. Le deuxième, signé par Virgiliu Florea, montre la correspondance entre le Rabbin Moses Gaster et Jacques Byck. Grâce à leur valeur documentaire, les deux textes complètent harmonieusement la structure du volume.

En plus des études déjà mentionnées, le présent numéro de *l'Annuaire du Musée Ethnographique de Moldavie* contient également une section consacrée aux anniversaires, en célébrant des noms connus dans la littérature de spécialité, tels que Silvia Ciubotaru et Constantin Eretescu.

En conclusion, nous exprimons l'espoir que les idées du volume, tel que nous les avons ici exposées, constitueront – dans leurs profondeur et diversité – une invitation convaincante à lire toutes les pages de ce numéro.

